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THE MOHAMMEDAN SYSTEM IN ITS RELIGIOUS ASPECTS AND TENDENCY.

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IN the *Christian Review* for October, 1854, an article appeared upon "The Moral Character and Influence of Mohammedanism,"\* and in that of October, 1862, there is presented by another pen, "The Metaphysical Tendencies of the Mohammedan Mind." The present paper may be a fitting supplement to those two articles.

The impression made by vital Christianity upon intelligent Mohammedans, in quite recent days, as exhibited in the reports of Protestant Missionaries in Asia and Africa, is

\* It should be borne in mind, as explanatory of the different modes of spelling the name of the Arabian prophet, that the Arabic language, like the Hebrew, has no vowels. In different portions of the vast region and many peoples who have received the Koran, the vowel pronunciations are very different; and still more different are those supplied by European writers. The first syllable is *always* and everywhere made a half or very short vowel, and the second is an *a* sound, more or less sharp.

calculated to awaken a deep interest in the study of a system of religious faith that so readily meets and so highly appreciates the religion of Christ, which for twelve centuries has battled against its haughty and corrupt semblance. This fact, so interesting not only in the survey of modern Christian benevolence, but also of the progress of religious truth among all nations, may perhaps be in a measure elucidated, if not accounted for, by a cursory glance at the religious history of the professed prophet himself, who gained such a sway over millions of the best Asiatic minds; by a brief survey of the contents of the volumes of his professed revelations making up the Koran; by a concise digest of his doctrines as they specially relate to the Christian system; and finally by a passing reference to the theories in philosophy, morals, and civil polity, which truly able minds in India, Persia, and Arabia have engrafted upon the Mohammedan faith.

Among those who have treated on the Life of Mohammed, Bush and Irving are best known in this country. The work of the former appeared many years ago in the Family Library series published by the Harpers; that of the latter was published among the very last of its lamented author's works, about ten years since. Neither of these professes to be an analytical or philosophical treatise; that of Bush is a compilation from former authorities, attempting merely a connection in narratives; while that of Irving is made up of material gathered by him to a considerable degree from Moorish legends found in the South of Spain, the Memoir, as a whole, having this great fault, that Oriental fable is so intertwined in the web of true history, that no one but a scholar can separate the true from the fictitious. The Book of Mohammed, the Koran, is generally accessible to English readers through the translation of Sale, an English gentleman who lived a century and a half ago. This translation is in perspicuous English. His long preliminary discourse, and his ample foot-notes presenting the opinions of Mohammedan commentators, show him to have been a comprehensive student; while the manifest effort to present the unvarnished truth of the system of Mo-



ammed, and to bring out its just relation to Christianity, make the Christian reader feel that he must have been a useful member, in his early day, of the British "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," and that he must also be a safe and instructive guide to the modern Christian scholar. The most thorough, though brief, analysis of the religious system of Mohammed is probably that of Hugo Grotius, who having spent all the vigorous years of his manhood, from twenty-one, in studying the moral and religious authorities received in the world, in order that he might digest therefrom his work which became the gem of the science of International Law, crowned his great life by devoting the ripe fruit of his old age to the religious duty of analyzing and comparing the different religious beliefs that have prevailed among mankind. This great work, given to the world two centuries ago, is still left un superseded by all subsequent labors in the department of the Defence of the Christian Faith ; and his clear insight into the spirit of the Mohammedan system, though somewhat modified by the results of modern Christian enterprise, is still invaluable to the student in that department of history. The most instructive specimen of the results of philosophic investigation in minds reared under Mohammedan trammels, accessible to English readers, is perhaps "*The Akhlak e' Jalaly ed Din*," a system of metaphysical and moral philosophy, by a Persian dervish, written some four or five centuries ago; a work translated by an English scholar into English and reviewed in the *Christian Review*, as above noticed, about eight years since. The facts as to the workings of the Mohammedan mind, meeting as it now does the genuine spirit of Christianity, both in the letters of the New Testament and in the lives of its true followers, may be gathered from the constantly appearing statements of American Missionaries now laboring in portions of Asia and Africa, where Mohammedans are met.

About the year 583 after our era, when professed vicars of Jesus Christ had for about eighty years been recognized as temporal sovereigns at Rome, and when for two centuries Christian sovereigns had been seated on the throne of the

Greco-Roman Empire of the East at Constantinople, an Arab boy of twelve years came to Jerusalem. His visit, when looked back upon in later times, was one naturally calculated to recall the contrast presented by a similar visit 571 years previous, by another boy of twelve years. The former was the child of wealthy parents; and he came upon a lordly camel over the Eastern Desert, accompanying from curiosity a caravan trading to Jerusalem and the seaports of Syria. The latter was the son of an humble carpenter, and he came either on foot or upon an humble donkey to pay his early religious vows with his pious mother. The former traced with pride his lineage from Abraham through the renowned chieftain, Ishmael, "The-heard-of-God," whose descendants had always been a warlike and boastful race; while the other was from the same great ancestor, through the plain shepherd Isaac, "The-laughed-at," whose descendants had been always a by-word and a hissing among the nations of Western Asia. The former had shown natural gifts which gave promise of great intellectual superiority, and his intelligent and earnest spirit awoke the interest and called forth the prophecies of devout Christian teachers. The latter had not learned letters, yet his questions and answers astonished the doctors of the Mosaic Law, and aroused wonderful presages and hopes in the breasts of those that heard him. The one was Jesus, the true teacher come from God, who came to bear witness to the truth, and whose voice every man coming into the world and loving the truth, obeys. The other was Mohammed, the false prophet, whose hold on the minds of his own countrymen and on other people of Western Asia, has been the pride of military glory and national pomp; to last as long as these have in other men and nations held sway. The one was the Sun of Righteousness, arising with healing in his beams, and shining with a steady and perfect, though sometimes clouded, light. The other was like the crescent chosen as his emblem, dependent and only reflecting the central luminary's light; sickly often in its rays; never constant enough to be a guide; having its time to wax indeed, but also its time to wane.

The boy Mohammed had heard of the religion of Christ in

his own land of Arabia. It is interesting to observe, that the chosen apostle, raised up to carry the gospel to the most cultured branches of the European or Caucasian family of mankind, and who before the philosophers of Athens and at the Court of the Cæsars, was the divine instrument in commending its doctrines to theoretical Greeks and practical Romans—Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles—devoted the first three years of his young missionary ardor to the Arabians, whose chief northern city was then Damascus. Whether Providence ordered it because this branch of the Semitic family was to prove a leading one in intellectual advancement, or because the natural reaction of his entire transformation in all his old views made the converted Saul turn as a first love to the people who from the day when Ishmael mocked Isaac had been the most alienated from the Jewish people and from any religious advances coming from that family, it was for some reason the appointment of Divine Providence, that Ishmael should, among the other Gentile nations, first by the mouth of this great apostle, hear of the riches of Christ. What impression this labor of Saul of Tarsus, and the visits of other Christian preachers of that day, made, we are without the means of knowing. Certain it is that before the days of Constantine, through the faithful Missionary labors of the Armenians on their borders, who were among the first, as an entire people, to be converted to Christianity; and yet more through the Nestorians living in their own mountains, Christianity had gained numerous adherents, in both Persia and Arabia, where now Mohammedanism has its chief seat. We learn, farther, from Eusebius and other early church historians, that the efforts of Constantine to extend the spread of the adopted religion of the Roman Empire into those two countries on the borders of its Eastern dependencies, awakened suspicion and led to opposition and a temporary reaction in the legitimate influence of Christian truth. After that period, and some time before Mohammed's birth, the bitter controversies which rent the Christian church, had spread even into the seclusion of Arabia itself, and with however much zeal a formal and polemic Christianity was adhered to and advocated by many



natives of Arabia, the vital truth, as it is in Jesus, had failed to affect the opinions and change the religion of the Arabians, as a people. They were still, after the presence of Christian Missionaries among them for centuries, either gross idolaters adoring fire, and the sun and stars as its great archetypes, or they were wedded to the philosophic speculations of the Magi or wise men, whose doctrines were based on the Zendavesta of Zoroaster. Mohammed in his boyhood knew alike Jews, Christians, Magians and Fire Worshipers, for among his relatives and intimates they were all found. It was, however, a new era to him, as a thoughtful youth, when on his journey to Jerusalem, coming in from the East he stopped for a night at a convent of Greek Christians at Bassora, east of Jordan, in the region where John, Christ's forerunner, and Jesus himself, spent so much of their ministry. Among the many of doubtful piety gathered in such cloisters in different ages, there has always been a seed to serve God; thoughtful, renewed and spiritual men, who have known experimentally the way of salvation by Christ, and who have burned with a pure desire to make known his truth and grace, to all who came within their reach. Such an one was found among the tenants of the convent at Bassora, where the Arabian merchants, with the boy Mohammed, sought a night's encampment by their walls. One of the order, a pious monk, was struck with the natural intelligence and spirit of inquiry of the youthful visitor. With the prescience belonging to such spirits, he read the youth's character, anticipated his future eminence, and tried to give a Christian direction to his young mind. The boy was deeply and permanently impressed with the monk's earnestness; and his subsequent visit to Jerusalem, at the time when the magnificent churches erected by Constantine were still in their glory, made that city, sacred alike in the eyes of Jews and Christians, to become to him what it is and has been to men of all lands and ages, the centre of religious interest. To the vivid impressions of that early day is to be attributed the fact that beyond and above Mecca itself, Jerusalem is the most hallowed shrine for Mohammedans; their people styling it "El Kûds Esh-



Shereef," *The Holy, the Chief*, to which pilgrimages are made by burdened spirits, to whom Mecca itself has given no comfort.

The thought of youth, whether it were of personal ambition or of true religious zeal in Mohammed, was, as in most similar cases, restrained and apparently lost during the long years of training and subordination through which the young must pass. For years after his return from this first visit to Jerusalem, we hear of him only as a successful merchant's clerk, rising in his profession, until he secured the confidence of a wealthy widow engaged in trade, named Cadijah, who, apparently from convenience as much as from affection, proposed and was accepted by her clerk as partner of her marriage bed (since she was then forty and Mohammed but twenty-five years of age). The mature age of Mohammed himself, at the time of this union, and the fact of his marrying a woman of such maturity beyond his own years, is an indication of a mind controlled by judgment rather than passion, and of a purpose reaching beyond pecuniary considerations, as also beyond domestic gratification. Certain it is that his commercial enterprise declined immediately after his marriage, and that, too, though he was arrived at the point in his life when his experience, resources and business energies were at their acme. He seems in fact to have been seeking a position in society which would give him both the character and leisure that would ensure him success in the contemplated object of life formed in his early days.

A powerful influence to determine the bent of Mohammed's mind was added at his marriage by his intimate relationship to a cousin of his wife, named Woraka. The interweaving ties of consanguinity did much in Arabia, as in every land after the introduction of Christianity, to break the power of caste and national pride, and to prepare minds that would think, for a change of religious faith. Woraka was a Jew by lineage, and of course Cadijah had some kinship to the adherents of the Old Testament. Study and thought had made Woraka a Christian in theory, while practically he could not connect himself with either of its warring sects, or put himself

under the surveillance of its corrupt and despotic hierarchy. For fifteen years he and Mohammed studied and communed together. Woraka translated many portions of the Old and New Testaments from the Greek into Arabic; and as these were the first translation of the Sacred Scriptures into that tongue, so they were made for one whose mind was prepared to be deeply affected by them. While in this way the field of religious truth revealed in the Old and New Testaments was opened for their contemplation, the philosophic notions of the Magiana, originally presented in the Persian language in the Zendavesta, which were handed down with various modifications in that land about to embrace the claims of Mohammed, and which had spread southward to meet the Pantheistic systems of India in Southern Arabia, were also subjects of practical consideration by Mohammed, as stepping stones laid in the popular mind by which the people of Arabia might reach a higher faith.

Another influence of a controlling character on Mohammed's turn of mind at this period, was his wife's hearty sympathy in his views. Before their union she had recognized and flattered his genius; and though it was to the neglect of her business interests, this perhaps she understood to be the successful hold which a woman of her years could expect to maintain on such a man. Her influence seems to have been a salutary one. Mohammed was a young man of marked integrity, conscientiousness, and prudence in counsel; Cadijah was the Josephine of his public intercourse with his fellow citizens; and together the future prophet and his companion were, though in the private walks of life, looked up to for advice and as examples. In all his mental progress and increasing religious enthusiasm, Cadijah, like many a woman of Jewish stock, exerted a great influence over her husband.

Most of all, the fact should be regarded, that, as ever in the Providence of God, the people of Arabia were "prepared" for the new faith when Mohammed arose. What Milton has so sublimely, as well as forcibly, sung in his Christian Hymn of the preparation of the Greeks for the new religion of Christ, when the "oracles were dumb;" what history records of the

Asiatic mind in China and India, when just about the same era Buddhism was so generally and as it were naturally received; what the American Judson found among the Karens of Burmah, a few years since, was true of the Arabians in the day when Mohammed was preparing for his mission; the people had lost confidence in the religious systems promulgated among them, and were "made ready" for a better, or even for a worse, system, that should strike by its novelty and give good promise of improving society.

Intellectually, the people who thought in Arabia yearned for a more consistent faith. They were themselves a people of quick genius; on either hand were the cultured and scholar-like men of Persia and India; their own language was beginning to take a classic form; their Chancers and Jonsons had already lived, and the dawn of their Shakspearian age was prepared; and it needed only a master mind like Mohammed to show how in Arabia mere literary genius would make a man adored as more than human. The intellectual superiority of his work is therefore constantly appealed to by Mohammed.

In the department of religious thought, the popular demand was for a consistent, or at least a harmonious, faith; if not accordant in the highest sense with ultimate truth, at least not conflicting in itself. The Magian doctrines in the Persian Zendavesta, beginning with the *a priori* ideas that existence and causation must have been eternal and necessary, made Ormuzd, the author of good, to be the first produced, and the Creator; while Ahriman, the spirit of evil, is equally, though second in development, an independent existence, whose irresistible influence so excused man's yielding to his control that all the exhortations to virtue, filling the moral precepts that accompany these doctrines, proved powerless, as did those of Socrates and Confucius. So far as the ancient doctrines of their ancestors was concerned, the Arab people were degenerating into a religion of mere adoration of external objects, such as the sun, fire, and the holy stone at Mecca, etc.; their religious devotion was outward, consisting in prayers, fasts and pilgrimages, while the indulgence of appetite and pas-



sion almost unrestrained made them sensual and vindictive ; the only relief being found in that lingering spark of the divine nature first implanted in our race, *human sympathy*, which was embodied in the fourth duty of religion, "*alms-giving*."

In other times, in the truly missionary age of the Christian church, this want would have been met by the religion of Christ. But that Master who sent his disciples northward to Syria till they spread to Armenia, and westward till Paul heralded the gospel in Rome if not in Spain, and southward so that the superior race of Egypt was among the first to embrace his truth,—that same Master seemed by his Providence to order that the Asiatic mind should pass through another stage of religious development before being made a monument to angels that his gospel is the "wisdom of God and the power of God" unto salvation ; salvation to the Jew as well as to the Greek, to the least susceptible of the Asiatic as well as to the most susceptible of European stock. It was by his permission that, before Mohammed's day as ever since even down to our time, the Arabian should see little of Christianity except what Christ predicted, the "wolves in sheep's clothing," who cared not for his flock. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity, as to God, man and the Redeemer, had been perverted ; the spirit of Christianity had degenerated into the intensest struggle for temporal power on the part of the hierarchy of the church now fully separated into its Eastern and Western branches ; and its vital power was thus almost lost. The Arian and Pelagian controversies were raging ; one taking away man's Redeemer, and the other the need of him. The sovereignty of God in evil, the depravity of man, the Divine nature and propitiatory death of Christ, were the watchwords of sects. Rome had her Popes and Constantinople her Patriarchs ; the Eastern churches were full of the pictures of saints and the Western of images of Mary and her Son, so that to a thoughtful observer Christian teachers worshipped, as Mohammed expressed it, "three gods, Jesus and Mary being two of them ;" while the mass of Christian people were as much idolators as his own heathen countrymen.



For fifteen years, as mentioned, from the time he was twenty-five years of age till he was forty, these views of the errors and wants of his people and of their religious sectaries, were revolved by Mohammed in intimate communion with the learned Woraka. Suddenly, either from physical reaction, or mental aberration, or a pure religious enthusiasm, Mohammed fell into epileptic swoons during which he saw visions of the upper world. One night an angel seemed to stand by him, and unrolling a silken scroll covered with Arabic inscriptions, to cry to him, "Read! *Read* in the name of the Lord who has created all things. *Read* in the name of the Most High who taught man the use of the pen; who sheds on his soul the ray of knowledge, and teaches him what before he knew not. O Mohammed, of a verity thou art the prophet of God, and I am his angel Gabriel." In the morning, agitated and hesitating, Mohammed told Cadijah his vision, doubting whether it was not a mere delusion of his fancy. With the eye and the heart of an interested and attached wife, Cadijah regarded the vision; and she hailed it as the inspiration of prophetic power. "Joyful tidings dost thou bring," exclaimed she. "By him in whose hand is the soul of Cadijah, I will henceforth regard thee as the prophet of our nation. Rejoice! Allah will not suffer thee to fall to shame. Hast thou not been loving to thy kinsfolk, kind to thy neighbors, charitable to the poor, hospitable to the stranger, faithful to thy word, and ever a defender of the truth!" Hastening to Woraka, her cousin, Cadijah told him of her husband's vision. "By him in whose hand is the soul of Woraka," exclaimed the aged sage, with something of ancient Simeon's fervor, "thou speakest true, O Cadijah! The angel who has appeared to thy husband is the same who in the days of old was sent to Moses the son of Amram. His annunciation is true. Thy husband is indeed a prophet of God."

As the progress of self-delusion had been gradual in the mind of Mohammed, so the power of that delusion was slow in taking hold of his neighbors and countrymen. Beginning with his own family, some six years passed before they were persuaded to link themselves to the fortune of his pro-

fessed revelations. Taking them to the cave on Mt. Hara, where his visions had been written, he spoke to them of his mission as one inspired. Such is our nature, a story daily repeated by an intimate comes to be believed, however contrary to reason it may at first appear; and the family of a man of strong intellect are generally won to his opinions, however absurd and visionary they may be. It was, however, four years later, and not until he was fifty years of age, that his neighbors to any extent had confidence in him. During this time he was especially opposed by a rival family, that of the Koreish, whom he often mentions in his revelations with bitter denunciations.

In the twelfth year of his mission, and the fifty-second of his age, he had his professed night journey to Jerusalem, and thence to Heaven, recorded in the 17th chapter of the Koran. Up to this time Mohammed had disdained anything physically miraculous as attesting his mission, replying to those who demanded this testimonial, that Moses and Jesus coming with miracles had been rejected, and God meant the Koran should be received for its own excellence. This 17th chapter, entitled "The Night Journey, revealed at Mecca," begins, "Praise be unto Him who transported his servant by night from the sacred temple of Mecca to the farther temple of Jerusalem." There is an indirect claim of miraculous physical interposition in this announcement; yet it is not positively made; and, aside from this instance, Mohammed makes no claim to supernatural power over the material. It is rather as a figure of speech that learned Moslem doctors regard this statement. In the same chapter he alludes to the demand made by his adversaries that his divine authority be attested by miracles; and he adds, as God's direction to him, "Say, verily if men and genii were purposely assembled that they might produce a book like this Koran, they could not produce one like unto it, although the one of them assisted the other. And we have variously propounded unto men in this Koran every kind of figurative argument; but the greater part of them refuse to receive it merely out of infidelity. And they say we will by no means believe on thee until thou cause a

spring of water to gush forth for us out of the earth, or thou have a garden of palm-trees and vines, and thou cause rivers to spring forth from the midst thereof in abundance ; or thou cause the heaven to fall down upon us, as thou hast given out, in pieces ; or thou bring down God and the angels to vouch for thee ; or thou ascend by a ladder to heaven ; neither will we believe thy ascending thither alone, until thou cause a book to descend thence unto us that we may read." "Answer, Am I other than a man sent as an apostle." "Answer, If the *angels* had walked on earth as familiar inhabitants thereof we surely had sent down unto them from heaven an *angel* for our apostle." "We heretofore gave unto Moses the power of working nine evident signs. And do thou ask the children of Israel as to the story of Moses ; when he came unto them, and Pharaoh said unto them, verily I esteemed thee, O Moses, to be deluded by sorcery." "We have sent down the Koran *with truth*, and it hath descended *with truth*." "And we have divided the Koran, revealing it by parcels, that thou mightest read it unto men with deliberation : and we have sent it down, causing it to descend as occasion required."

The report of this vision seemed however to be a claim to supernatural agency ; and such was its effect as to lead some who had listened to Mohammed as a moral teacher to leave him. His enemies, too, began to grow more violent in his native city of Mecca, to which thus far his followers had been confined. Mecca was the Holy City of the Arab nation, holding the Kaaba or sacred stone of their superstition ; and like all cities regarded thus sacred, it was the resort of religious devotees most inimical to any pretensions to new religious light. Thus far, too, Mohammed had met these opposers as a moral teacher. About this time there came from Medina, a town (or "city" as the word "Medinah" signifies) about 300 or 400 miles north of Mecca, some men who received Mohammed's visions with confidence and took the oath or pledge usually prescribed to his followers, afterwards called the woman's oath, because it did not, like the man's oath, require the vow to fight for their new faith. The oath is recorded in the 60th chapter of the Koran ; and the fact that it



was taken by men at this time is an evidence that Mohammed had not heretofore ventured on the alternative of resorting to arms to defend and extend his claims. The form of the oath is indicated by the words of the 60th chapter of the Koran, "O prophet, when believing women come unto thee and pledge their faith unto thee, that they will not associate anything with God, nor steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children, nor come with a calumny which they have forged between their hands and their feet, nor be disobedient to thee in that which shall be reasonable, then do thou plight thy faith unto them." The following year, however, the memorable era of Mohammedanism, the 13th of Mohammed's mission and the 53d of his age, seventy men, instead of the ten or twelve of the former year, came to him from Medina, and urged him to come and make their city his home. It was then that his vision, forming the 22d chapter of the Koran, was published, in which he makes a solemn and warning last appeal to the Meccans, and announces the doctrine of *force* as the future means of breaking down opposition to his mission. Commencing with the exclamation, "O men of Mecca, fear your Lord! verily the shock of the last hour will be terrible!" he announces the following near the close of the chapter: "Permission is granted unto those who take arms against the unbelievers; for that they have been unjustly persecuted and God is certainly able to assist them); who have been turned out of their habitations injuriously, and for no other reason than because they say, Our Lord is God. And if God did not repel the violence of some men by others, verily monasteries and churches, and synagogues and temples, wherein the name of God is frequently commemorated, would be demolished." This appeal to Jews and Christians, and their example as warring for national ends, characterized from this time the spirit of the prophet; from a teacher he was transformed into a warrior, seeking to build up an empire.

The flight from Mecca to Medina in the same year, the hegira from which as their era Mohammedans reckon, was thus a necessity of Mohammed's new policy. Leaving Mecca with chosen friends and the men from Medina, he hastened



to that city, performing the flight or "removal," as the word *hegira* properly means, which became the crisis of the history for ages of Western Asia, and even of nearly all Europe. Immediately on reaching Medina Mohammed chose, in imitation of Jesus, twelve apostles, and had a temple for his new worship erected. He also began to assume civil functions; he was surrounded by armed guards; collisions with the tribes that rejected his claims frequently arose; and his followers took on more and more a warlike character.

Beginning now to reckon from the new era of the *hegira*, in the 6th year after his flight to Medina, Mohammed made an incursion with 1400 men to Mecca, not, however, taking the city. In the 7th year he sent ambassadors to Persia, Rome, Egypt and Ethiopia. The Persian Court, which afterwards became the head of the new faith, treated with disdain the pretentious claim of an insignificant Arab insurgent. The Roman Emperor Heraclius, with the policy characteristic of that people, whose power was founded upon their courteous diplomacy as much as upon their prowess in arms, received with profound respect the insignificant representatives of an infant realm, and sent them away with a pleasant impression alike of their own importance and of the urbanity of the Roman courtier. Egypt and Ethiopia accepted the ambassadors, but with little idea how, ere a century should pass, their hereditary thrones would crumble before the hordes of the future followers of the prophet, as their fields had often been wasted before the locusts of the same Arabia. In the 8th year Mohammed ventured boldly to make distant incursions, southward to Mecca, and northward into Syria; in both which attempts the arms of his followers were triumphant. In the 9th year, awed by his foreign successes, the neighboring tribes of his native Arabia succumbed, and in general attached themselves to his standard. In the 10th year all Arabia, except the towns which were Christian, had submitted to his religious domination, and even they to his civil sway. In the 11th year Mohammed died, aged about 64 years, leaving behind him ambitious generals to build up one of the mightiest empires of the earth upon the foundations of the professed revelations which Mohammed had left behind him.

The writings which Mohammed left were in the form of one hundred and fourteen distinct visions or "Sura," of whose gradual and fragmentary appearance Mohammed himself often spoke in the later numbers, replying to objections thence brought against their Divine origin. That Mohammed expected the parts to be brought together, either by himself or by others, into a volume, is manifest from his frequently calling them as if they were then one, "The Book of the Koran," the word Koran meaning "The Teaching." At his death, however, like most great writers, he left his work incomplete. His able follower, Aboo Beer, carried out his master's purpose; finding his work, as literary executors generally do, no insignificant task. Some of the visions, we are told,—such was the scantiness of material for writing among the Arab people at that age, and such the prophet's want,—were found written on palm leaves, folded and preserved between boards; others were inscribed upon skins; and some were preserved only in the memories of familiar associates. It was not till the 30th year of the hegira, and nearly twenty years after the prophet's death, that the writings were all brought together and transcribed into one complete Book. Superstitious reverence then went to the opposite extreme of superfluous care; and devotees committed to memory chapter, verse, word and letter, recording that there are 114 chapters, 6,225 verses, 27,639 words, and 323,015 letters. They noted especially the claimed inspiration of each in the opening phrase "*Bism Allah*," in the name of God; one chapter alone wanting this prefix.

The number of the distinct and consecutive visions, or professed revelations of Mohammed, is, in all, as before mentioned, one hundred and fourteen; which, in the volume afterwards collected by his followers, are entitled Chapters. The general principle controlling the order of their arrangement is, as in the Old Testament, that of time of composition; though this often gives place to some relation of subject or of respective length. The length of these chapters varies from nearly 300 verses to a single verse; the verses being of about the same extent as those of the Old and New Testament divisions. Excepting the first chapter, which like the first

Psalm of the Old Testament collection is a brief introduction, the chapters generally decrease in length to the end, several of the latter chapters containing only two or three verses ; and in committing the book to memory, as all boys in the Mohammedan schools are required to do, after the first chapter, the pupils are required to begin with the last and go backward to the second. The shortest of these chapters, entitled the "Declaration of God's Unity," is comprised in these words, "Say, God is one God : he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any one like him." The longest of the chapters is the second or leading one.

The six chapters from the second to the seventh inclusive, are all long and seem to be the leading and embodied revelations, while the rest are in general subordinate, fragmentary, and called forth by circumstances. The first of these six, entitled "The Cow," from its special allusion to the red heifer required as a sacrifice by the Mosaic Law, is evidently designed as an appeal to the Jews to receive Mohammed as a prophet, presenting the line of prophets through Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses and others, and urging that the people of Israel had always been at first opposed to their true prophets. As both the wife and teacher of Mahommed were of Israelitish stock, it was natural that he should first seek to exalt his mission and revelation by uniting it to the Old Testament. The second of these six leading chapters, entitled the "Family of Imram," Imram being the supposed name of the father of Mary the mother of Jesus, is as manifestly designed to win the confidence of Christians by reciting many historic facts as to Jesus' mission and miraculous gifts, mixed with traditions about his mother. The third, entitled "Women," is a sort of compend of *domestic precepts*, while the fourth, entitled "The Table," or "Contracts," relates to laws of integrity in social intercourse, and is a sort of compend of *civil statutes*. The fifth, entitled "Cattle," is evidently designed to commend his mission to the heathen Arabians, the title referring to a superstitious custom of theirs as to cattle, whose absurdity seemed a strong point of appeal. The sixth and last of these, entitled "Al Araf," or the "Partition," pre-



sents the Eschatology of Mohammed's system, the separation between Paradise and Hell, and the fearful awards of the Judgment.

The eighth chapter, entitled "Spoils," and treating of the disposition to be made of booty taken in war; and the ninth chapter, entitled "Immunity," the object of which was to announce an immunity for four months to infidels holding out against his armies, show the line of marked transition from his first quiet closet reflections to the demands of stern conflict with the prejudices and pride of men arrayed in armed opposition to his sway. From this point to the close of the volume the added visions are generally a defence of his own modified doctrine or changing practice; or some explanation of new points of faith or plans of policy incidentally arising; or brief devotional prayers and moral suggestions brought out by circumstances. The careful survey of these impresses anew and constantly the conviction that Mohammed began as a conscientious, though perhaps too ambitious, religious reformer; but, when opposition to his doctrines arose from envious men, he determined to overcome that opposition, not by the force of truth and of a consistent moral conduct, but by the power of the sword.

It requires no small study and effort at analysis to draw out from the tangled web and woof of the many books of the Koran, Mohammed's views in the separate departments of religious truth; such as his doctrine as to inspiration, as to God, as to man, as to redemption, and as to the future world; for, as in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, so in the Koran, these doctrines are presented indirectly and practically; while, moreover, there is an inconsistency of statement which the truly Divine Word cannot be supposed to admit. This latter consideration is in fact most palpable and convincing as to the divine origin of the one and the human origin of the other. The books of the Old Testament were written by not less than twenty-nine or thirty men of very unlike character, and living through a period of not less than eleven hundred, perhaps of even seventeen hundred years; and the books of the New Testament were penned, not by Christ him-



self, but by eight of his disciples; and yet these varied and numerous volumes, emanating from nearly forty different minds, and in ages covering a period of over two thousand years, have a chain of connected and consistent moral and religious truth, not to say of material and physical truth harmonizing with advancing science, running through them. The books of the Koran were all written by the same man, within a period of less than twenty-five years, and that with the advantage of those perfect models as a guide; and yet there are most palpable inconsistencies in doctrine, the grossest contradictions in moral precept, and statements as to the earth's structure and to physical agencies so absurd that it cannot stand a day amid the light of modern science.

As to *source* of the true knowledge of God, Mohammed teaches that the light must come from Revelation, and that he received his messages in the books of the Koran by direct inspiration. As we have seen he was not only careful to allow, but earnest in urging, that Moses and Jesus, the great teachers of the Old and New Testament, were inspired of God; and that miracles were the proof of their divine mission. Thus he says (ch. iii.): "God hath sent down unto thee the Koran with truth, confirming that which was revealed before it; for he had formerly sent down by the law and the gospel a direction unto men." "We heretofore gave unto Moses the powers of working nine evident signs." (ch. xvii.) "We gave unto Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs." (ch. ii.) But the Jews and Christians also, he states, both rejected their prophets, while they lived, and perverted and corrupted their writings after they had ceased to live. Thus he says of Jews and Christians (ch. vi), "They have sworn by God, by the most solemn oath, that if a sign came unto them, they would believe therein. Say, verily signs are in the power of God alone; but when they come, they will not believe." "They believed not therein the first time." Of the Jews, he says (ch. ii): "We formerly delivered the book of the law unto Moses, . . . and gave evident miracles to Jesus the Son of Mary. When a book came unto the Jews, confirming the Scriptures already with them, they would not believe

therein. They reject what hath been revealed since, although it be the truth." "Do ye desire that the Jews should believe? Yet a part of them heard the Word of God, and then perverted it after they had understood it. Do not they know that God understandeth what they conceal as well as what they publish? There are also illiterate men among them who know not the book of the law, but only lying stories; although they think otherwise. And woe unto them who transcribe corruptly the book of the law with their hands, and then say, This is from God." Of Christians, he says (ch. ii): "The Jews say the Christians are founded on nothing; and the Christians say the Jews are founded on nothing; yet they both read the Scriptures." "After various signs had been shown unto them, they fell to variance; and therefore some of them believed, and some believed not." This error and fault of Jews and Christians gave occasion, he urges, for the Koran. "The Jews [ch. v] dislocate the words of the Pentateuch from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admonished; and thou wilt not cease to discover deceitful practices among all but a few of them. And of those who say, We are Christians; we have received their covenants, they too have forgotten part of what they were admonished; wherefore we have raised up enmity and hatred among them till the day of resurrection. O ye who have received the former Scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you to make manifest many things which ye concealed in the Scriptures, and to repeat many things. Now is light, and a perspicuous book, come unto you from God." "We have sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth, confirming the Scripture that was revealed before it, and preserving the same safe from corruption." Hence because the former revelations attested by miracles were thus rejected at first and afterwards corrupted, God determined to send him without the gift of miracles; as he says [ch. xiii.]: "The infidels say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his Lord, we will not believe. Thou art commissioned to be a preacher only and not a worker of miracles." Thus Mohammed is the strongest attestor that the Old and New Testament were con-

firmed as divine by true miracles; and this attestation coming from such a source is one of the most important links in the chain of the external evidence of Christianity.

We naturally search to find upon what Mohammed does base the evidence which should lead men to receive his message as inspired. It is obscurely and sometimes apparently with inconsistency presented. Those claims seem to be of three or four classes. In the first place there has always been a line of true prophets; Moses and Jesus gifted with miracles not being the only true teachers come from God. Thus he represents God saying to him, [ch. iv.]: "Verily we have revealed our will unto thee, as we have revealed it unto Noah and the prophets that succeeded him; and as we revealed it unto Abraham, and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob, and the tribes, and unto Jesus and Job and Jonah and Aaron and Solomon; and we have given thee the Koran as we gave the Psalms unto David." "Abraham [ch. iii.] was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but he was of the true religion. Verily the men who are the nearest of kin unto Abraham, are the men that follow him." "Abraham [ch. ii.] bequeathed this religion unto his children, and Jacob did the same." "They say: Become Jews or Christians that ye may be directed. Say: Nay, we will follow the religion of Abraham, the orthodox, who was no idolator. Say: We believe in God, and in that which hath been sent down to us, unto Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob, and in that which was delivered unto Moses and Jesus; and in that which was delivered unto the prophets from the Lord their God; we make no distinction between any of them; and unto God we are resigned." "The baptism of God have we received, and who is better than God to baptize?" Will ye say, truly Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob, and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say! Are ye wiser than God?"

Sometimes Mohammed replies to those who assail him as an impostor, or a deranged man, or a literary enthusiast, and in doing so, shows that he relies on a special *mental impression* as proof to himself and as evidence to others that he is inspired. The charge of imposture he thus states and replies



to: "Mind not those who charge thee with imposture, and say, They are fables of the ancient." [Ch. lxviii.] "We know that the infidels say: Verily a certain man teacheth him to compose the Koran. The tongue of whom they speak is a foreign one, but this wherein the Koran is written is the perspicuous Arabic." [ch. xvi.] The other and less grave charge he thus disposes of: "The ungodly say: Ye follow no other than a man who is distracted." [Ch. xxv.] "We have not taught Mohammed the art of poetry." [ch. xxxvi.] "The prophet believeth in that which hath been sent him from God, and the faithful believe also." [ch. ii.]

Mohammed, moreover, constantly, in addition to his claim to be one of a long and indefinite line of prophets, asserts that there is a special connection between his revelations and those of the Old and New Testament, his own being the third and complementary portion of one complete manifestation of God's will. This is everywhere implied, as seen in extracts already quoted, and is directly urged in two peculiar statements of the prophet. Mohammed, in reading Christ's last address to his apostles, seized upon his promise of the "*παράκλητος*," or "comforter," and giving to it the form *περικλήτος* or "illustrations," he referred it to his own name, Mohammed, or Ahmed, both of which are from the Arabic verb *hemed*, to be illustrious. In his 61st chapter, he says: "And when Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O children of Israel, verily I am the apostle of God, sent unto you confirming the law which was delivered before me, he added, And bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, whose name shall be Ahmed." Mohammed, therefore, insisted that Jews, who would become Moslems, as a preparatory step, must become Christians; and, when alluding to the rejection of Moses and of Jesus by the Jews, who lived in their days, he says (ch. iv): "There shall not be one of those who have received the Scriptures (or Old Testament), who shall not believe in Jesus before his death." As an amusing exhibition of the adherence of Mohammedan doctors of this day to the teaching of their prophet, the requirement now made of a Jew who would become a Mohammedan, is to give proof first

of his conversion to Christianity by eating swine's flesh; after which he may receive the additional conversion to Mohammedanism, and obey the common requirement of Moses' Law and of the Koran, to abstain from that kind of meat. This third and last step was but the return of the Jews and of all nations to the one true religion called *Islam*, or the "uniting," of which Mohammed says: "Verily, the true religion before God is Islam," (ch. 3d), and he adds, that before Abraham's time "Men were professors of one religion only" (ch. x).

The testimonial on which Mohammed rests his claim finally, is his success in arms. The command to fight for his religion is early given; it is declared to be the foundation of the highest merit; and the main end of his mission Mohammed taught, was, in addition to calling back men as a teacher to the true and primitive faith, to *unite* them in *Islam*, and by the power of the sword to make of believers one great nation. Thus he says (ch. 2d): "Fight for the religion of God." "Fight against the infidels till there be no temptation to idolatry and the religion be God's." Again (ch. 9th): "Fight against them who believe not in God and profess not the true religion until they pay tribute by right of subjection and be reduced very low." "Say, Do ye expect any thing else than one of the two most excellent things, victory or martyrdom." Yet, again (ch. v): "Whoso taketh God and his apostle and the believers for his friends, they are the party of God, and they shall be victorious." "The infidels will say, Thou art not sent of God. Answer, God is a sufficient witness between me and you. Do they not see that we come into their land and straiten the borders thereof by the conquests of the true believers?" (ch. xiii). Hence, the followers of Mohammed were called "Moslems;" not as some suppose from *Islam*, but from the verb *mesel*, "to draw the sword." Hence, too, the followers of the prophet at this day, in Eastern Asia and Europe especially, so generally think their religion on the wane, because success and conquest with the sword no longer attends them.

As to the manner in which the revelation was communicated to him, Mohammed teaches that it was uttered to him by

the angel Gabriel ; yet he attributes the enlightening influence by which he understood and wrote it to the Holy Spirit. Thus he writes (ch. ii): "Whosoever is an enemy to the angel Gabriel, for he hath caused the Koran to descend on my heart, by the permission of God," &c. In one of his later revelations (ch. liii), he thus describes his coming to him: "It is no other than a revelation, which hath been revealed unto him. One mighty in power, endued with understanding, taught it him, and he appeared in the highest part of the horizon. Afterwards he approached the prophet, and near unto him, until he was at the distance of two bows' length of him, or yet nearer, and he revealed unto his servant that which he revealed. The heart of Mohammed did not falsely represent that which he saw." In this sense the book was "sent down" according to Mohammed's frequent reference ; but the communication seems to have been accompanied, according to Mohammed's statement, by an influence of the Holy Spirit on the mind of the writer. This is especially urged in defence of the abrogation of certain of his former revelations by later ones, especially when permission to take an additional wife was vouchsafed to him from above ; this abrogation being, as Mohammed contends, like the abrogation of portions of the Old Testament by the New, and dictated by the Holy Spirit. Thus (ch. xiiiith) he says: "Every age has its book of revelation ; God shall abolish and confirm what he pleaseth." And (ch. xvith): "When we substitute in the Koran an abrogating verse for a verse abrogated (and God best knoweth the fitness of that which he revealeth), the infidels say, Thou art a forger of these verses ; while the greater part of them know not truth from falsehood. Say, The Holy Spirit hath brought the same down from my Lord with truth." There is, of course, in Mohammed's analogy a covering up of the fact that, though distant ages may require new statutes, and so many of the statutes for Jews in the Old Testament are abrogated for all nations in the New Testament, this is quite a different thing from the same man getting for himself a few years after one revelation another abrogating the former as to some sensual indulgence which has come up with new charms to tempt him.



The special doctrine of Mohammed, as to *God*, was the Divine Unity; and that not only as opposed to idolatry, but also to the Christian doctrine of the divine nature of Christ. That he regarded the establishment of this doctrine as his special prophetic mission, is frequently apparent in the Koran. Thus, in the close of the 18th chapter, he is told: "Say, if the sea were ink to write the words of my Lord, verily, the sea would fail before the words of my Lord should fail, although he added another sea like unto it as a farther supply. Say, verily, I am only a man as ye are. It is revealed unto me that your God is only God." This ideal, everywhere taught in the Koran, is the foundation of the duty now enjoined on every parent that the very first word uttered by the new-born child shall be "Allah," or God; and the first sentence his lips frame shall be, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet" Among the many denunciations of worship of idols scattered through the Koran, that found in the last written book or chapters is perhaps the most severe: "Kill the idolaters wherever ye shall find them, and take them prisoners, and beseige them and lay wait for them in every convenient place. But if they shall repent, and observe the appointed times of prayers, and pay the legal alms, dismiss them freely, for God is gracious and merciful."

[TO BE CONCLUDED IN NEXT NUMBER.]

## ARTICLE II.—THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

[BY A. HOVEY, D. D., OF NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION.]

In the last number of this *Review* we began an examination of our Saviour's Miracles on Human Nature. Instead of asking our readers to follow us through the whole list belonging to this class, we will mention the subdivisions, and then pass on to another class. § I. *Healing Mortal Sickesses*, four miracles. § II. *Healing Chronic Diseases*, seven miracles. § III. *Curing Organic Defects*, five miracles. § IV. *Healing Demoniacs*, six miracles. § V. *Raising the Dead*, three miracles. In these sections we have carefully examined all the miracles on human nature which are described with any fulness in the gospels, and find the evidence perfect in its kind. We proceed therefore to consider,

## II.—MIRACLES ON THE MATERIAL WORLD.

These may be subdivided into miracles evincing, on the one hand, *absolute control*, and, on the other, *creative power*, in the realm of nature: the term *nature* being used in this connection to signify the irrational world, animate or lifeless. A section will be devoted to each of these subdivisions.

§ I. *Miracles of Absolute Control*.—Lu. v: 1-11; Jo. xxi: 1-23; Matt. xvii: 24-27; Matt. viii: 23-27; Mk. iv: 35-41; Lu. viii: 22-25; Matt. xiv: 22-36; Mk. vi: 45-56; Jo. vi: 15-21; Matt. xxi: 18-22; Mk. xi: 12-14, 20-24.

(a.) We begin with the miraculous draught of fishes, recorded in Lu. v: 1-11; (cf. Matt. iv: 18-22; Mk. i: 16-20.) The particulars mentioned by Luke are these: (1) As Jesus was standing by the lake Genesaret, and (2) a great crowd pressed near him to hear the word of God, (3) he saw two boats stand-

ing by the lake, (4) the fishers having left them, (5) to wash their nets. (6) He entered one of these boats, (7) belonging to Simon, and, (8) asking him to push off a little from the land, (9) taught the crowds on shore from the boat in which he was seated. (10) Having finished his discourse, (11) he said to Simon: "Push thou out into the deep, and (12) let ye down your nets for a draught." (13) Simon replied: "Master, toiling through the whole night we caught nothing, (14) yet at thy word I will let down the net." (15) Doing this they enclosed a great multitude of fishes, (16) so that their net was breaking, (17) and they beckoned to their partners in the other ship to come and help them. (18) These came and the two boats were filled, (19) so as to be sinking. (20) Then Simon fell at the feet of Jesus, and said, (21) "Depart from me, (22) for I am a sinful man, O Lord." (23) For sudden awe seized him and those with him, (24) as well as James and John, his partners in the other boat. But Jesus replied, (25) "Fear not; henceforth thou shalt catch men;" and, (26) bringing their boats to the land, (27) the men left all and followed him.

(b.) According to Paulus there is no reason whatever for supposing a miracle in the present case. Jesus promised no success to Peter; he merely advised him to try again; Peter did so, and fortunately made a great haul. But if Christ, as we admit, did not in so many words promise success, his language was understood to foreshadow this (v. 5), and from the result Simon appears to have inferred, without rebuke, the divine power or knowledge of Christ (v. 8). Hence it is impossible to vindicate the moral purity of Jesus, and yet deny a miracle of knowledge or control in this instance. To us the latter seems far more probable than the former; and we therefore adopt the language of Trench: "It was not merely that Christ, by his omniscience, knew that now there were fishes in that spot; we may not thus extenuate the miracle; but rather we are to contemplate him as the Lord of nature, who by the secret yet mighty magic of his will, was able to wield and guide even the unconscious creatures to his aims (p. 110)." But we cannot approve the subsequent remarks of this writer, identifying the power which drew the fish to that spot with



that which at all times guides their periodic migrations. The event before us was extraordinary and it revealed in Christ a sovereign control over the brute creation.

The comments of Strauss on the narrative in Luke are of no special importance and may be passed by without notice.

(c.) The call of four apostles, as related by Matt. iv: 18-22, and Mk. i: 16-20, is thought by most expositors to have been connected with the miraculous draught of fishes. This is the opinion of Calvin, Meyer, De Wette, Hase, Bleek, Ebrard, Trench, Ellicott, Blunt, Kitto, Robinson, and others. We perceive no insuperable objection to it. According to the several accounts, the place may have been the same, the persons called the same, the form of the call the same, the things forsaken the same, and the promptness of obeying the same. Moreover, if these accounts are referred to synchronous transactions, we escape the improbability of a repetition of very similar events in the history of the apostles. On this hypothesis Mr. Blunt has pointed out a possible coincidence between the breaking of nets spoken of by Luke and the mending of nets spoken of by Matthew and Mark; and if the coincidence is admitted to exist, it must be pronounced unintentional, and therefore a mark of truthfulness. But Augustine, Bengel, Paulus, Anger, Alford, and some other interpreters, do not believe that the call described by the first two evangelists was connected with the miracle before us. They find it difficult to reconcile the various accounts, and deem it more reasonable to assume a repetition of similar events. Perhaps they are correct, for the differences are certainly important. To reconcile the accounts we must admit not only that Matthew and Mark pass over in silence the eager multitude and the teaching by Jesus from the boat, while Luke fails to mention the formal call addressed separately to the two pairs of brothers, but also that the first two Evangelists refer to the miraculous fishing by words not suggestive of a miracle, viz., "casting their net into the sea," and that James and John, after taking into their boat a part of the great multitude of fishes, had landed at a distant point, and were mending their nets when Christ came by and called them.

For our present purpose, it is only necessary to observe, that the evidence of an immediate connection between the call described by Matthew and Mark and the miracle described by Luke, is by no means conclusive, and that if such a connection be granted no real disagreement between the several accounts can be shown to exist. The narrative of Luke is simple, coherent, natural and independent. It is no legendary outgrowth from the simple accounts of the first two Evangelists, but an original record, to be received or rejected with the rest of the gospel in which it stands.

A second miraculous draught of fishes is recorded by Jo. xxi: 1 sq. His narrative is singularly beautiful and affecting, so that, apart from the miracle which it relates, it will ever be read with deep interest. (a) The particulars mentioned are briefly these: (1) After the resurrection of Christ his disciples had repaired to Galilee, and, (2) on a certain occasion, at the motion of Peter, (3) seven of them went "a fishing." (4) During the night they caught nothing, but (5) in the morning Jesus showed himself (v. 1) to them, (6) standing on the beach; (7) yet they did not recognize him (cf. Acts 23: 4). (8) He therefore said to them: "Children, have ye any meat?" (9) and they answered "No." (10) He then told them to cast their net into the waters (11) on the right of the boat, (12) promising them success. (13) They did so, and (14) took so many fishes (15) that they were unable to draw in the net. (16) The beloved disciple now said to Peter, "It is the Lord," and (17) Peter hearing this (18) girt on his outer garment and (19) cast himself into the sea. (20) The other disciples came ashore in the boat, (21) dragging with them the net of fishes, as (22) they were only about two hundred cubits from the land. (23) Having gone from the boat on the beach, (24) they saw a fire of coals and (25) fish upon it and bread. (26) Jesus then said: "Bring of the fish which ye now took," and (29) Peter, ever prompt, went and drew ashore the net, (28) full of a hundred and fifty-three great fishes, (29) yet unbroken. (30) Jesus said further to them: "Hither, dine!" and (31) no one of the disciples durst ask him, "Who art thou?" (32) knowing him to be the Lord. (33) Jesus gave them with his own

hands the bread and the fish; and, (34) after the disciples had eaten, began his memorable conversation with Peter, so full of tender reproof and confidence.

(b.) The events described by this narrative are different in all essential points from those related by Luke, and considered above. (1) Those took place in the early part of Christ's ministry; these after his resurrection. (2) Luke speaks of two boats; John of one. (3) Luke says that James and John were not in the same boat with Peter; John virtually says they were. (4) Luke says, their net broke; John says, it did not break. (5) Luke declares that two boats were filled with the fishes taken; John asserts that the fish were not taken into the boat at all. (6) Luke represents Peter as falling at the feet of Jesus and beseeching him to depart; John represents him as plunging into the sea to come to Christ as quickly as possible. (7) Luke relates that Jesus called Peter to become a fisher of men; John, that he directed him to feed his sheep, his lambs. (8) Luke declares that Christ was in the boat; John affirms that he was on the shore. Other minor differences may be passed over in silence, for these establish beyond a doubt the distinctness of the two miracles. Yet Strauss affirms it "*scarcely conceivable* that the history of John relates to an event different from that described by Luke: the same narrative has *without any doubt* been erroneously assigned to different parts of the life of Christ." His argument against the historical truth of the two accounts rests, first, on the alleged impossibility of miracles, and, secondly, on the assumed identity of the two events which these accounts profess to describe. We have considered both these supports, one in this paragraph and the other in our introduction, and have found them false.

(c.) Paulus finds everything natural in this account. He speaks of the fishers as surprised by their "good luck." He supposes that Jesus had brought with him some bread, and that Peter, on reaching the shore, was directed to prepare breakfast. Hence the other disciples, when they landed, found food already cooking on a fire of coals. But surely it is strange that the word of Jesus should have been followed,



a second time, by so great a draught of fishes; and it is likewise strange that Peter, after swimming ashore, had time to build a fire upon the beach and arrange the food upon it, before the boat arrived. Nothing is more certain to an unprejudiced mind, than that this narrative was intended by its author to describe one at least and probably two miracles. The remarks of Strauss against the naturalistic interpretation are pertinent and convincing.

(*d.*) The bearing of Jesus, according to this narrative, was in perfect harmony with his bearing on other occasions between his resurrection and ascension. An air of mystery clothed his person and movements. No man knew whence he came, or whither he went, or how. He seemed to hover over the pathway of his disciples, visible or invisible at will. His body was real, yet not subject to the common laws of matter. With "new properties, powers and attributes," it was a perfect servant of the spirit. Nowhere do the Evangelists hint at any reason for this change in the bearing of Christ after his resurrection, but with nice agreement do all their accounts reveal the change itself. And this delicate harmony points with steady finger to the historical truth of their narratives. To suppose the incidents which suggest this mysterious change invented, and then related by four different writers, without any trace of design, surpasses the utmost limits of our credulity. It need scarcely be added that the bearing of Peter, as here described, is in perfect keeping with his conduct on other occasions, and with the well ascertained traits of his character. The same may be said of all which is ascribed to John.

(*a.*) The miracle of the tribute-money, or the stater in the fish's mouth, Matt. xvii : 24-27, next claims our attention. The circumstances recorded are these : (1) Jesus and his disciples had entered into Capernaum ; when (2) those taking the sacred tribute came to Peter, and (3) said : "Does your master pay the tribute?" (4) Peter replied : "Yes." But (5) when he came into the house where Jesus was, (6) the latter anticipated him, saying : (7) "What thinkest thou, Simon ? (8) From whom do the kings of the earth take customs or tribute ? (9)

from their sons, or (10) from strangers?" (11) Peter replied: "From strangers." (12) Jesus said: "Then are the sons free. (13) But that we may not offend them, (14) go to the sea, and (15) cast a hook, and (16) take the first fish that comes up; and (17) having opened its mouth, (18) thou wilt find a stater: (19) that take and give to them for me and thee." We are of course to understand that Peter obeyed the direction of Christ and found the promised money. As Jesus, by divine intuition, was cognizant of the dialogue between Peter and the tribute-takers, so was he in like manner cognizant of the coin in the mouth of a certain fish, and by his sovereign control in the realm of nature he brought that particular fish first of all to the hook of his disciple. This seems to be the only proper account of the transaction.

(b.) Paulus holds that Peter was directed to catch some fish and sell them in the market for a stater. Accordingly *ἐδρῆσεις* must denote a *mediate* finding of the money. But this interpretation requires *ἰχθύν* to be a collective noun, which is inconsistent with the adjective *πρῶτον*, and with the apparently intentional use of a hook instead of a net. It also fails to explain *ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*, which implies that the money was in "the mouth" and not in the market; for it is surely trifling to say that "having opened its mouth" may refer to a removal of the hook, or to Peter's opening his own mouth to cry up his fish in the market. Says Meyer: "The whole interpretation of Paulus is an exegetical *portentum*!" The mythical view of this passage deserves no special attention, and we therefore pass it by.

(c.) Objection has been made to this miracle as needless. Jesus could certainly have obtained so small a sum by natural means, and especially in Capernaum. But this objection is unsatisfactory; for it is fair to presume that we do not know *all* the circumstances which might have justified a miracle at that time. By paying the sacred tribute Jesus may have seemed to relinquish the position and privileges of sonship to God (v. 26), and therefore to preclude such an inference from his act, to show that he merely waived in one respect the exercise of his prerogatives, it was suitable him

to assert his rank by a miracle of sovereign control. This view may be supported by an appeal to some analogous events in the life of Christ (cf. Trench, p. 308). Says Mr. Westcott: "The two points in the miracle of the stater in the fish's mouth, which seem to mark its meaning, are (1) the gracious obedience to a ritual requirement to avoid offence, and (2) the sovereign power which vindicates the independence which is not asserted by act." Whether, however, this miracle was wrought by Jesus for the purpose of vindicating his claim of sonship to God, or for some other purpose, we cannot perhaps be absolutely certain, but a just sense of our imperfect knowledge of the circumstances forbids us to deny the existence of good and sufficient reasons, though at present hid from our view.

The next miracle to be considered is the stilling of the tempest, as recorded in Matt. viii : 23-27, Mark iv : 36-41, and Luke viii : 22-25. (a) These narratives differ without contradiction ; e. g., Matthew says, that "as he entered into the ship his disciples followed him ;" Luke, that "he entered into a ship and his disciples ;" and Mark, that "having sent away the multitude they (the disciples) take him as he was in the ship." Jesus enters the ship, his disciples dismiss the crowd, and, following him on board, without delay launch out into the deep. The disciples appear to have navigated the boat, and are therefore said to take Jesus. Again, Matthew says, "There arose a great tempest in the sea, so that the ship was covered by the waves ;" Luke, "There came down a storm of wind on the lake, and they were becoming filled and in danger ;" and Mark, "There arose a great storm of wind, and the waves were beating into the ship, so that it was already becoming full." Here is variety of expression with unity of idea. Again, Matthew makes the terrified disciples say to Jesus, "Lord, save us, we perish ;" Luke, "Master, Master, we perish ;" and Mark, "Teacher, carest thou not that we perish ?" Here the word rendered "we perish," is the same in all the accounts ; but the title applied to Christ is different in every one of them. Yet the three words have so much in common that they may well be supposed to represent a single Aramaic term. Probably



the title was actually repeated, as in Luke. As to the clause in Mark, "carest thou not?" it may have been expressed by some of the disciples, or it may represent the tone of slight reproach with which they addressed the Saviour. Again, Matthew says that Jesus reproved his disciples for their want of faith before the miracle; Mark and Luke say that he did so after it; and we see no reason to call in question the correctness of either statement. Other points might be noticed, but with the same result; the accounts differ without contradiction.

(b.) They agree without dependence. For they all affirm (1) that Jesus proposed to pass over the lake with his disciples; (2) that he entered into a ship with them; (3) that he fell asleep in the ship during the passage; (4) that a sudden and fierce storm arose; (5) that the waves swept over the ship, and (6) were in danger of filling and sinking it; (7) that the disciples awoke Jesus; (8) and prayed him to save them from speedy death; (9) that he rose up, and (10) rebuked the wind, (11) which straightway ceased, and there was a calm; (12) that he reproved his disciples for their want of faith, and (13) consequent fear; (14) That they were struck with awe, and (15) expressed their wonder at his control over the winds, (16) and the sea.

(c.) After sketching the previous events, Paulus says: "Jesus was just awake, and had looked around and uttered some exclamations *on* the fury of the wind and the sea, when, before one was aware of it, all was again very quiet. Storm and calm follow each other very quickly on lakes, especially those surrounded by mountains. The rescued, therefore, between fear and wonder, ascribe the fortunate issue to the presence of Jesus. 'The storms and the waves also obey him?' winks and whispers one to another. That *Jesus* knew or approved this *interpretation*, the narrative does not affirm." This is not interpretation. The Evangelists declare that Christ *rebuked* the winds and the sea, one of them giving his words, "Peace, be still!" and not, that he uttered some exclamations on the fury of the storm. Besides, if he did not know of their *winking* and *whispering*, what becomes of his

marvellous power (a power fully admitted by Paulus), to read the looks and divine the thoughts of men? A naturalistic interpretation of the text must unavoidably assail the moral integrity of Jesus.

(d.) The mythic hypothesis is very lame in the present instance. The only Old Testament event which can be supposed to have suggested the probability of such a miracle in the life of Christ, is the passage of the Red Sea; and this is accordingly adduced; but surely there is no great resemblance between the two events. Moreover, the Old Testament miracle seems not to have been matched in importance by the New — a strange oversight on the part of Christians.

We pass now to the miracle of Christ walking on the water (Matt. xiv : 22-36; Mr. vi : 45-56, and Jo. vi : 15-21). On these accounts we remark :

(a.) That they differ without contradiction. Two points of disagreement have been supposed to exist, viz: as to the position of the ship in the sea when Jesus appeared, and as to his entering it or not. The first two Evangelists are said to locate the coming of Jesus to his disciples near the middle of the sea, while the last is made to place it near the western shore. But the words "in the midst of the sea" cannot be pressed to signify the exact locality; they might have been used if the ship had been much nearer one shore than the other, provided it was quite remote from both. Moreover, the statement of John that "the ship was immediately at the land," may signify no more than this, that it was so in a very short time, as compared with the long night of previous agony. Possibly, however, he may have intended to suggest another miracle. Again, the first two Evangelists affirm that Jesus entered the ship before the wind ceased, but John, it is said, virtually denies this; for he says "they *wished* to take him into the ship, and the ship was immediately at the land;" therefore they did not do it. But the Greek may properly be rendered: "They were therefore willing to take him into the ship," for the sound of his well known voice had dispelled their fears; and having done so, "the ship was immediately at the land to which they were going."

(b.) That they agree without dependence. They all testify, (1) that Jesus went into the mountain by himself (2) for the purpose of praying; (3) that in the mean time his disciples had entered into a ship, (4) to pass over to the other side, and (5) had pushed out into the open sea; (6) that there was a strong wind blowing; (7) that Jesus came to them in the night, (8) walking upon the sea; (9) that they saw him thus walking, and (10) were affrighted; (11) that he spoke to them, saying, (12) "It is I, be not afraid;" (13) that they received him into the ship, (14) and the wind ceased. The last two particulars are not asserted, but implied, by John. Matthew and Mark add that when the disciples first saw Jesus walking on the sea, they supposed him to be a phantom or apparition, and cried out through fear, and also that the miracle excited the greatest wonder and awe in the breasts of those who witnessed it. The circumstance of Peter's going to Jesus "on the waters" is preserved in the first gospel only. Between the several narratives there are differences so marked, not only in phraseology, but also in details, as to establish beyond a doubt their independence of one another. A brief inspection of the text will convince every scholar of this important fact.

(c.) According to Paulus, Jesus was seen by the disciples in the morning twilight, walking along on a high shore which overlooked the sea. But Alford remarks that in no other instance are the words ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, thus used after an *active* verb. Besides, if the disciples saw Jesus on a high shore, why did they not see the shore also? And if they did see it, why were they affrighted? And why did Peter wait for permission to come to Jesus? And how did Jesus save him when sinking? And why were the disciples so greatly amazed at what they had seen? And for what reason did Jesus enter the ship at all? To us the naturalistic view is utterly baseless.

(d.) Besides the two alleged contradictions noticed above, Strauss brings forward the attempt of Peter to walk on the water, and the wish of Christ to pass by the ship, as plainly unhistorical. His comments on the story of Peter's endeavor to go to Jesus resolve themselves into a protest against miracles



in general, and must not detain us; but the statement of Mark that Jesus "would have passed by them"—*ἤθελε παρελθεῖν αὐτούς*—is worthy of consideration. According to Strauss, "Mark would show by these words that Jesus, supported by divine power, had intended to walk quite across the entire sea as on solid land; not satisfied with the report that Christ went thus over the water to aid his disciples, he represents such an act as so natural and common to him that, without respect to the disciples, he took his way over water whenever it lay in his course, even as over *terra firma*." But the words of Mark do not imply this. They may doubtless be explained, with Alexander, as nearly equivalent to the expression: "he was about to pass by them," the verb *ἤθελε* being used in the sense of an auxiliary in English; or they may have been applied to Christ *more humano*, a desire being attributed to him which would have led a man to act as he acted. For, when the cry of his disciples led him to speak, he was, to all appearance, going by the ship. It was, we believe, his purpose to give them an opportunity of requesting his aid, instead of bestowing it unsought. So likewise, on another occasion, we are told that "he made as though he would go further," although he was prevailed upon by the urgent request of two disciples to abide with them. Others have objected to the miracle before us, on the ground of its being unnecessary. It seems to have been performed, they say, merely for the sake of *showing* what the Lord could do. But this surely is a mistake. The disciples were not only rowing against the wind, but tortured by fear, and exposed to peril, and Jesus came in the *most direct* way to their relief.

Whether the miracle consisted in a suspension of the law of gravity for the body of Jesus, or in making the water solid under his feet, or in counterworking the force of gravity by divine power, we cannot say; it is perhaps sufficient to affirm that it was wrought by virtue of his sovereign control of the realm of nature. The remarks of Trench on this point are wholly unsatisfactory: "It was the will of Christ which bore him triumphantly over those waters; even as it was to have been *the will of Peter*, that will indeed made in the highest

degree energetic by faith on the Son of God, which should, *in like manner*, have enabled him to walk on the great deep, and, though with partial and transient failure, did so enable him" (p. 231). We had always supposed that it was the power of Christ, and not the will of Peter, which enabled this disciple, so long as he had faith, to walk on the waters. Yet Alford seems to echo the opinion of Trench when he says of Peter's act: "It contains one of the most pointed and striking revelations which we have of *the nature and analogy of faith*; and a notable example of the power of the higher spiritual state of man over the inferior laws of matter, so often brought forward by our Lord (see Matt. xvii: 20, 21)." If this is so; if the force of gravity can be neutralized and mountains be cast into the sea by the energy of a believer's will, it may also be true, that "a remnant of his (original) power survives to man in the well-attested fact (!) that his body is lighter when awake than sleeping." But mark the proof of this unqualified statement: "It was noticed long ago by Pliny (N. H. I. 7: c. 18)," and "every nurse that has carried a child can bear witness to the fact" (Trench). It would have been wiser to test the matter by more accurate scales. We cannot believe that there are many nurses who would bear witness to the fact asserted. It is not surprising that such evidence and such teaching are ridiculed by unbelievers.

The judgment of the fruitless fig-tree (Matt. xxi: 18-22; Mr. xi: 12-14, 20-26), also belongs to this section. On the narratives of this miracle we remark,

(a.) That they involve no contradiction. It has, indeed, been said that Matthew asserts an instant drying up of the doomed tree, seen by the disciples on the spot, while Mark allows a whole day for the process, stating explicitly that the disciples first saw it "dried up from the roots" on the morrow. But the word rendered "presently" in Matthew need not be pressed to signify the very moment after the sentence of Christ. The sap may have instantly ceased to flow, yet the leaves may not have been perfectly dried up for hours. It will also be observed that the language of Matthew as to the time when the disciples first noticed the tree as withered is



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indefinite, and therefore quite consistent with that of Mark. The other differences are of too little importance to require attention at this point.

(b.) That they bear witness in common to the principal details. For they both testify, (1) that the place of the miracle was between Bethany and Jerusalem; (2) that the time of it was the day after Christ's triumphal entrance into the holy city; (3) that he was on his way again into Jerusalem; (4) that he suffered hunger; (5) that he saw a fig-tree, having leaves, a sign of fruit; (6) that he went to the tree to look for fruit, (7) but found none, the leaves were all; (8) that he then sentenced it to perpetual sterility; (9) that his disciples (one day later, Mr.) saw the tree dried up, and (10) expressed their wonder at the sudden change; (11) that Jesus thereupon exhorted them to unwavering faith, saying (12) that with such faith the mountain on which they stood should, at their word, be removed and (13) cast into the sea; (14) and indeed that they should receive whatever they should ask of God. These facts are in perfect keeping with one another; are the most important facts of the case, and are plainly attested by both narratives.

(c.) Jesus, if we are to follow the lead of naturalists, discovered signs of death in the fig-tree, and therefore predicted its future barrenness; but the scorching sun of an unusually hot day caused it to wither away sooner perhaps than he had anticipated. This view is incompatible with the proper force of Christ's words to the fig-tree, for the verb is not in the future indicative but in the subjunctive; and also with the obvious implications of the dialogue between Jesus and his disciples on the following morning. For the latter by the mouth of Peter seemed to attribute the drying up of the tree from its roots to the curse of Christ, while the former virtually endorsed their view. Strauss has clearly shown that we must admit a real miracle, or else deny the historical truth of the gospels.

(d.) To destroy the credibility of these narratives, Strauss appeals to the unchristian character of the reported miracle. A *penal* miracle, he maintains, would have been incompatible



with the avowed spirit and aim of Jesus (see Lu. ix: 55 *sq.*) ; much more, then, the penal destruction of an *innocent* though barren tree; and still more, of such a tree because it did not bear fruit *out of season*. To this we reply, that the destruction of a tree cannot be *penal*, except in a figurative or symbolical sense. An unconscious vegetable can neither sin, nor be punished. The miracle before us was but a parable enacted (see Lu. xiii: 6-9), to foreshadow the doom of moral beings, and to indicate the ground of it. Whoever objects to such symbolical action, must do it because the doctrine taught is false, or the method of teaching wrong. But the doctrine taught cannot be proved false, either with reference to the Jews in particular, or with reference to mankind in general. Nor can the method of teaching be shown to be wrong; for a civil ruler would have had a right to destroy the tree for public and important ends, much more had Jesus a perfect and sovereign right to destroy it for important moral ends. It is quite out of our power to believe that Christ exhibited any signs of indignation at the *tree*, or that his disciples supposed him to be dealing with the tree for its *own* sake and not for theirs. To say nothing of our Saviour's divinity, he was certainly no thoughtless, irritable child, but a man of matchless wisdom and self-control. His sentence on the fruitless tree was doubtless uttered with deep moral seriousness, and his disciples must have felt that he was teaching them a great lesson, was preparing for them in the realm of mere nature a fit symbol and shadow of some high reality in the realm of moral being. Says Bp. Hall: "In this act of thine, I see both an emblem and a prophecy. . . . Once before hadst thou compared the Jewish nation to a fig-tree in the midst of thy vineyard, which, after three years' expectation and culture, yielding no fruit, was by thee, the Owner, doomed to a speedy excision; now thou actest what then thou saidst. No tree abounds more with leaf and shade, no nation abounded more with ceremonial observations and semblances of piety. Outward profession, when there is want of inward truth and real practice, doth but help to draw on and aggravate judgments. Had this fig-tree been utterly bare and leafless, it had perhaps escaped the curse (p. 565).

(e.) The question, whether Jesus really hoped to find fruit on the fig-tree or not, here presents itself. If he did, how can his ignorance be explained? If he did not, how can his conduct be justified? The statements that Jesus was hungry, that he saw from a distance a fig-tree covered with leaves, that he came to see if, as the leaves indicated, it had fruit, have been said to prove that he hoped to find figs, but was disappointed. Admitting for a moment the conclusiveness of this proof, what light do the disappointment and ignorance of Jesus cast upon his person? They merely illustrate the fact, it has been said, that *as a man* Jesus might be deceived, for his knowledge was limited, though as a divine being he could never be mistaken, because his knowledge was infinite. "It was no more disparagement to thee," says Bp. Hall, "to grow in knowledge than in stature; neither was it any more disgrace to thy perfect humanity that thou, as a man, knewest not all things at once, than that thou wast not in thy childhood at thy full growth." This view of the case may be correct, but it is superficial. Other and deeper questions arise. Was there no fellowship between the divine and the human intelligence of Christ? If such fellowship existed to any extent, by what law was the measure of it determined? By the condition of the lower nature, or by the will of the higher, or by the use to be made of what was communicated? Did the human soul of Jesus share whatever knowledge appertained, for the time being, to his Messianic work? or was some part of that knowledge possessed by the Divine Nature alone? Did the higher nature of Jesus serve the lower in all the common affairs of life, or only in those which belonged to his official work? These and similar queries spring out of the opinion that Christ hoped to find fruit on the fig-tree; but, as we reject this opinion, we are not called upon to answer them, or even discuss them. If we recall the narratives of miracles already examined, *e. g.*, of the two miraculous draughts of fishes, of the stater in the fish's mouth, of the walking on the sea (Mr. vi: 48); of the resurrection of Lazarus, of the healing of the impotent man, and others, it will be evident that Jesus had a superhuman and perfect knowledge of nature as well as of

man; of facts in the inanimate world as well as of thoughts in the rational. And if we add to this the circumstance that the judgment of the fig-tree was symbolical, it will be clear that Christ's going to the tree and inspection of it was also symbolical. Nay more, his hunger was necessary to the completeness of the parable, and was, we cannot doubt, in connection with the ostentatious display of leaves on the barren tree, the occasion of Christ's solemn and prophetic act. The remark of Calvin is ingenious, that, "since hunger was irksome to his flesh, he undertook to conquer it by an opposite affection, namely, by promoting the glory of his Father; as he says elsewhere: 'My meat is to do the will of him that sent me' (Jo. iv: 34). For he was also, at that time, oppressed by weariness and thirst. And I the more incline to this conjecture, because his hunger was the occasion for performing the miracle, and teaching his disciples. When therefore he was hungry and there was no food at hand, he nourishes himself from another source, by advancing the glory of God. By the tree as a symbol he aimed to set forth the destruction which will overtake hypocrites, and at the same time their ostentation and utter worthlessness."

§ II. *Miracles of Creative Power.*—Jo. ii: 1-12; Matt. xiv: 13-21; Mr. vi: 30-44; Lu. ix: 10-17; Jo. vi: 1-14; Matt. xv: 32-39; Mr. viii: 1-10.

These have been esteemed by many writers the most signal exhibitions of divine power in the ministry of Christ; and if it is proper to speak of gradations of the miraculous, we should assign them the highest place.

The changing of water into wine (Jo. ii: 1-12), first claims our attention. On this narrative we submit the following remarks:

(a) The objections made to it by sceptics are of no weight. They are founded on Mary's language to Jesus, on his reply to her words, on the epideictic character of the miracle, and on its immoral tendency. Why should Mary remind her son that the wine was about to fail? Because she knew his wisdom, and, perhaps, because "there had been," as Alford suggests, "a previous hint given her, by our Lord, of his



intention and the manner of performing it." Why, then, should he call her "woman," and disclaim any special connection with her? Because he was now to appear as the Messiah, her Lord and Saviour, and to do his great work in sole subordination to his Heavenly Father. His reply was a serious but not severe announcement of the change which had taken place in his relation to Mary, and was called out by her modest though unwise hint, that it was now time for Him to interpose. His time, the proper moment for Him to act, was not yet come, and no human wisdom could fix upon it. But why should He work a miracle for mere display? To manifest his glory by furnishing a *luxury*? Were there none sick, or blind, or lame, in the region to be healed? This objection is superficial. It does not comprehend the sympathy of Jesus with mankind, and his purpose to purify and ennoble all the relations and enjoyments of life. Had he been a teacher of asceticism, a prophet of sorrow, with no fresh life in his being, this miracle might have seemed incongruous: but not so when we understand the purport of his work. His message was good news. He came to quicken, to purify, to raise, and to spiritualize all things, and this miracle was an emblem and type of his work. Finally, why should he provide by miracle for the intoxication of the guests? There is no ground for the assertion that he did so. The allusion to drunkenness as not perhaps uncommon in such feasts, does not imply that it had been or was likely to be seen in the marriage at Cana, nor does the amount of wine created prove our Saviour to have been indifferent to the sin of intoxication. If he provided at all, it was surely fitting that he should do it liberally, as in nature.

(b) The particulars recorded are these: (1) on the third day after a given date there was a marriage (2) in Cana of Galilee, and (3) the mother of Jesus was there. (4) Jesus was also invited to the marriage, and (5) with him his disciples. (6) The wine at length began to fail, and (7) the mother of Jesus reminded him of the fact, by saying: "They have not wine." (8) He answered her: "Woman, what have I and thou in common? (9) My time is not yet." (10) Mary

then spoke to the servants, saying, (11) "Whatever he saith to you, do." (12) Standing there were six water jars of stone, (13) used for Jewish washings, (14) and holding two or three measures apiece (say 21 gal.). (15) Jesus said to the servants: "Fill ye the vessels with water;" (16) and they filled them full. (17) He then said to them: "Draw now and (18) bear to the master of the feast;" (19) and they did so. (20) The master of the feast knew nothing of the miracle, and (21) when he had tasted the wine, (22) he called out to the bridegroom, saying: (23) "Every man first gives good wine, (24) and then the poorer, (25) after they have become drunken;" (26) but thou hast kept the good wine till now." (27) This was the first miracle of Jesus. (28) By it he manifested his glory, and (29) in view of it his disciples believed on him. It is scarcely possible that the writer of this account was not present at the marriage feast which he describes. The details of his record are so minute and singular as to reveal the hand of an eye-witness. John was already a disciple of Jesus, and was doubtless permitted to rejoice in this first miracle of his Lord, and verify its greatness by the evidence of sense. How natural that he should be at the side of Jesus and listen to the conversation between him and Mary; that he should note the command addressed by his master to the servants, and the filling of the empty vessels with water; that he should mark their astonishment when told to draw from these vessels and bear to the master of the feast; that he should watch with deepest interest the master of the feast and treasure up his words; and that his faith and joy in Christ should be strengthened by this supernatural event.\*

(c) Paulus supposes that Jesus anticipated a deficiency of wine on this occasion, on account of the unexpected increase of the number of the guests by the coming of his disciples,

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\* First, the vessels used were such as were standing by for ordinary purposes, precluding any idea of collusion; then they were not wine vessels, but water-pots, so that it could not be suggested that there was some sediment of wine remaining in them, which gave a flavor to the water poured in . . . ; then there is the intervention of the servants in filling vessels, but for which it might have appeared . . . that the wine had come from some unexpected

and therefore brought along a considerable quantity with him. His mother was aware of this store, and of his purpose to use it at the feast, hence she reminded him of the failure of the wine as furnished by the bridegroom. Jesus wished to make his gift as agreeable as possible, and therefore produced it in a mysterious way. Hence the bringing of water to fill the jars was necessary; that is, to the harmless deception. The servants were not let into the secret, but the wine was substituted for the water when they were busy elsewhere. This invention of Paulus sets at nought the plain language of the text, and deserves no serious reply. Whoever believes that by *such* "signs" and "manifestations of his glory" Jesus gained an almost marvellous influence over his disciples and created in their minds the moral image of himself, which is stamped upon the gospels, is quite beyond the reach of argument, and must be left to feed on his own empty imaginations.

(d) In the Old Testament narratives of water turned into blood, and of bitter fountains made sweet, Strauss finds materials and motives for the legend of John. A miracle, he conjectures, would naturally be ascribed to Jesus, which involved a change of water into some other element, so as to equal the wonder of Egypt, and at the same time a change into something nobler and better, so as to correspond with the beneficent reign of the Messiah. But how could this be done, unless it was by a myth reporting the change of water into wine? Hence, as all miracles are incredible, and especially such a one as is here related by John, his narrative is beyond question purely mythical. We do not think it necessary to offer any reply to this view. His assertion that, if a miracle like the one here described had been wrought, the first three Evangelists must have heard of it, and could not

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quarter. Lastly, there is the evidence of the Symposiarch, or "ruler of the feast," who, knowing nothing of the history of this wine, pronounces upon it, that it is not only real wine, but good wine—better than had yet been produced in the feast. Nothing can be more complete than this evidence. . . . "The keenest eye can discover no flaw in it," (Kitto's Life of Christ, p. 203 sq).



have forgotten it, and would therefore have related it, rests upon a completely erroneous view of the gospels—upon a denial of the inspiration of the Evangelists. Men who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, were not likely to choose their materials according to the notions of Dr. Strauss.

(e) This miracle lays no foundation for the papal doctrine of Transubstantiation. For according to John the new substance was recognized and identified by the senses of men, while, according to the Catholic doctrine, the new substance in the Eucharist cannot thus be known. Looking at the record of John, we say, that which was received by the master of the feast and by the guests produced the same effects as wine, and therefore it must have had the properties of wine; and if so, it was in reality wine, for we know objects by their properties and not otherwise; but looking at the creed of Catholics in respect to the consecrated elements, we must say just the opposite, viz: that which has the properties and produces the effects of bread or wine is totally different from either of these. Against the assertion that the sacred wafer has become the very body of Christ, we urge the testimony of exactly the same senses which informed the disciples that what they were drinking was no longer water but veritable wine. And if the faithful Catholic may not rely on the evidence of his senses in the alleged miracle of the Eucharist, how can he rely upon it to establish any other miracle or fact? How can he know, it has been asked, that the words, "This is my body," are on the sacred page? For this he has but the evidence of one of his senses, while he has the evidence of two of them to prove that the wafer after consecration is still bread.

We now proceed to the miraculous feeding of five thousand persons, recorded in Matt. xiv: 13-21; Mr. vi: 30-44; Lu. ix: 10-17, and Jo. vi: 1-14. This is the only miracle described by all the Evangelists, and it deserves careful study. It may be observed that these accounts (a) differ without contradiction. According to some interpreters they do not agree as to the point of time in the ministry of Christ when this miracle was wrought; but it is plain to us that they do not

*disagree.* Mark and Luke place it directly after the return of the twelve from a missionary excursion, and they alone give any precise statements on this point. The words of John: "After these things" (v. 1.), permit us to assume that a considerable interval separated the discourse of Christ in Jerusalem (Jo. v: 16 sq.) from his arrival on the east side of Genesaret. They fix the temporal *order* but not *proximity* of these events; and hence the writers are not chargeable with contradicting one another. According to Matthew the report of the death of John the Baptist seems to have moved Jesus to go over the lake to a desert place. This may also be easily reconciled with the other accounts, for our Savior may have been moved by more than one consideration to seek a place of comparative seclusion. The remarks of Alford are very satisfactory on this point (Matt. xiv: 13 sq.). As to the succession of events in the life of Christ, we cannot rely upon the gospel of Matthew in all cases, for events are sometimes transposed for the sake of greater unity of impression and moral power in the narrative.

Again: A disagreement as to the *place* where this miracle was wrought has been alleged to exist between Luke and the other Evangelists; but it is a mistake. The Bethsaida near which the multitudes were fed, was on the north-east, not the north-west, of lake Genesaret. The first three gospels supposes Jesus to have been just before in Capernaum. From this place Matthew says "he went away in a ship to a desert place apart;" Mark, "they went away by ship into a desert place apart," and Luke, "taking them he went away apart into a desert place of the city called Bethsaida." John says that "Jesus went away beyond the sea of Galilee." It is argued from Luke's omission of the words "by ship," that he believed the journey to have been made by land, and hence that the Bethsaida referred to was on the west side of the lake. Such inferences are certainly unwarrantable. Luke says they "went," but does not tell us *how* they went; Matthew and Mark say they "went," and also tell us *how* they went. If there is any contradiction here our eyes are too dull to perceive it. Again: It has been thought

impossible to reconcile John's account of the conversation between Jesus and his apostles with that of the other gospels. This seems to be a mistake also, for we may represent the whole dialogue as follows: Late in the afternoon some of the disciples, who had been passing around amid the throngs of people, came to Jesus, saying, "the place is a desert and it is now late; send the people away, that they may go into the fields and villages round about and buy food for themselves, for they have nothing to eat." Instead of answering this suggestion instantly, Jesus raised his eyes and thoughtfully surveyed the crowds of people still passing near him. Then turning to Philip, who had been with him in silence, he said: "Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat?" intimating his purpose to provide for them a meal. Philip responded: "Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little." Jesus now declared his purpose more distinctly, saying to the disciples as a body: "They have no need to go away: give ye them to eat." How natural their answer: "Shall we depart and buy them two hundred pennyworth of bread and give them to eat." The Saviour replied: "How many loaves have ye? Go and see." At once Andrew said: "There is one lad here that has five barley loaves and two small fishes; but what are these for so many?" The disciples made inquiry for food and procured of the lad his loaves and fishes; it was all they could find, and, returning they said to Jesus: "We have but five loaves and two fishes." Is there anything impossible or even unnatural in all this? Far from it. The other alleged contradictions are still easier of solution, serving to confirm rather than weaken the united testimony of the four gospels as to the reality of the miracle before us.

(b) These accounts agree in all essential parts. For they unite in testifying (1) that Jesus repaired to a desert place on the north-eastern side of the sea of Tiberias; (2) that many people followed him thither; (3) that Jesus at length looked upon them as in need of food; (4) that he spoke with his disciples about giving it to them; (5) that his disciples had at command but five loaves (6) and two fishes; (7) that Jesus



directed them to have the people sit down on the grass; (8) that he then himself took the loaves and fishes, (9) invoked upon them a blessing from God, (10) and gave them to his disciples, (11) who distributed them to the crowds; (12) that all the people ate (13) until they were satisfied; (14) that the disciples then gathered up the fragments, (15) filling twelve shoulder-baskets with them; and (16) that the men who ate were about five thousand in number. These are the principal facts, simple, coherent, credible; all of them evident to sense and capable of being proved to a moral certainty by human testimony. A variety of minor circumstances, bringing the events of the hour more distinctly before our minds, are added by one or more of the Evangelists; but, while perfectly consistent with those first specified, and not without interest to any reader of the Scriptures, they are not strictly essential to a proper view of the miracle, and are therefore omitted in some of the accounts.

(c) Paulus supposes that the people had, many of them at least, provisions for a meal with them. When therefore Jesus had caused the multitude to be seated, and had presented them with all his store, they joyfully added their own provisions, and so there was enough for all. Of this interpretation it will be sufficient to say, that it cannot be drawn from the text or reconciled with it.

(d) Strauss assails the text by attempting (1) to identify the feeding of the five thousand here described with the feeding of the four thousand related in Matt. xv: 32-39, and Mr. viii: 1-10, (2) to point out contradictions between the several accounts, and (3) to show the extra-miraculous and absurd nature of the event. He then pronounces the narratives mythical, and refers to Ex. xvi: 4 sq.; I. K. xvii: 8-16; II. K. iv: 1-42, as an ample explanation of their origin. But it will soon appear that two miracles of feeding the multitudes were wrought, that there are consequently no points of disagreement between the records, and that no good reason can be offered for denying the historical truth of all the narratives. If miracles are not *per se* incredible, the one before us must be believed.

The feeding of the four thousand, Matt. xv: 32-39; Mr. viii: 1-9, is the last miracle of this section. On the accounts of this miracle we offer the following remarks:

(a) They do not refer to the same event which has just been examined. For (1) in the present case Jesus approached the scene of the miracle from the borders of Sidon, by a circuit north of Galilee and the sea of Tiberias; in the former case he seems to have passed over the sea from Capernaum in a north-easterly direction to the "desert place." (2) In *this* the place of the miracle was in the region called Decapolis, south-east of Genesaret; in that it was in the territory of Bethsaida (Julias), north-east of Genesaret. (3) In this the time appears to have been summer; in that it was spring. (4) Here the people were apparently a mixed multitude, partly Jews and partly heathen, from the region east of the Jordan; there they were probably for the most part Jews from the west side of the Jordan. (5) Here they had been with Jesus three days; there they had been with him less than one day. (6) Here the number of men was about four thousand; there it was about five thousand. (7) In this case there were seven loaves; in that but five. (8) In this there were a *few* little fishes; in that *two* small fishes. (9) Here the people reclined on the *earth*, for it was summer; there on the green *grass*, for it was spring—a nice coincidence. (10) In this seven baskets were filled with the fragments; in that twelve. (11) Here the baskets were those called *σπυρίδες*; there they were those called *κόφιναι*. These differences authorize us to say that there were two miracles of feeding multitudes—a fact sufficiently attested by the first two Evangelists, who relate them both. But by their question in reply to Jesus, the disciples, it is said, shows that they cannot have witnessed already such a miracle as was now requisite to satisfy the wants of the people. Their question does not, however, warrant such an inference. The people had now been with Jesus three days, and many of them had doubtless suffered more or less by hunger; yet he had intimated no thought of aiding them by a miracle, and his disciples may have concluded that he was not now intending to do this. Hence their answer. "But when he further

asked, how many loaves they had, they at once divined his purpose, and *not a word of doubt followed.*" (Ebrard, *Kritik*, page 434). Indeed, the remark of Alford is scarcely too strong, that "it would have been most unbecoming in them to suggest a miracle." Jesus alone, as they had learned by his response to a suggestion of his mother in the marriage feast at Cana, could know when it was proper for him to work miracles.

(b) The narratives before us agree in their testimony, for they both state (1) that Jesus called to him his disciples, and said: (2) "I have compassion on the multitude, (3) because already three days they remain with me, (4) and they have nothing to eat; (5) I am unwilling to send them away fasting, (6) lest they faint in the road." (7) His disciples replied: "Whence to us so many loaves in the desert, as to fill such a multitude?" (8) Jesus inquired: "How many loaves have ye?" (9) and they answered: "Seven." (10) He then directed the multitude to recline on the ground, (11) took the loaves, (12) gave thanks, (13) broke them, (14) and gave them to his disciples, (15) who distributed them to the people; (16) and also a few small fishes. (17) They ate and (18) were filled. (19) Seven baskets full of fragments remained. (20) Those who ate were about four thousand. It appears that in this case as well as in the foregoing, only the men were numbered. How many women and children were present can not be known.

(c) In what moment of time shall we place the miracle? When the food was in the hands of Jesus? or in the hands of his disciples? or in those of the multitude? Not in the last, for in that case we must imagine the bread to have been broken by Jesus into the minutest particles for distribution, so that the process would have seemed for a time ridiculous. Nor in the first, for then Jesus must have placed in the hands of his disciples vast quantities of food, and the labor of distribution must have been great. Hence Meyer is not far from right in saying: "The Lord blessed, and gave the loaves and fishes to the disciples, *as they were*: and then, *during their distribution of them*, the miraculous increase took place, so



that they broke and distributed enough for all." We suppose that Jesus broke the bread partially, and that his disciples carried on the process as they gave to each one of the people his portion.

(d) *Lange* denominates the last three miracles "*stimmungswunder*," or miracles in the spirit of man. He thinks the hearts of the people were expanded rather than the loaves of bread. By the might of his Divine Spirit, Jesus raised them into a high state of moral joy and ecstasy. Their drink at the marriage in Cana was indeed to their taste real wine, but their senses were elevated and the wine was heavenly, not earthly. Again: No addition was made to the substance of the bread by creative power, but it was merely set free from sin-imposed limits, and could therefore satisfy thousands. The effect of Christ's power upon it was like that of his real presence in the Eucharist. But the fragments! *Lange* feels this difficulty, and says: "If we will see in the miracle of feeding the multitude, the founding of a New Testament feast, we must before all feel how the hearts of Christ's guests were opened by his festal invitation and thanksgiving; how large, warm, free and fraternal they were made, so that no one would keep his own bread for himself, while he shared that of his brother." So the surplus (and how much more?) was furnished by the people *a la Paulus*!

### III.—MIRACLES ON HIS OWN BODY.

There yet remain two events which ought to have a place in this course of study, viz: The Transfiguration and the Resurrection of Jesus. We commence with the Transfiguration, Matt. xvii: 1-13; Mr. ix: 2-13; Lu. ix: 28-36; (cf. II. Peter i: 16-18, and Jo. i: 14.)

(a) These accounts are in no respect contradictory. Matthew and Mark, it has been said, place the transfiguration "six days" after a certain event (say the noble confession of Peter), while Luke puts it "about eight days" after the same event. But, to say nothing of the vagueness of Luke's statement, the first two Evangelists probably give the number of days between the events, and Luke includes those on which they took place.

Again: The Evangelists differ from one another as to the title which Peter gave to Christ. Matthew writes *κύριε*, Mark *Rabbi*, and Luke *ἐπιστάτα*. But there is here no difference in the meaning. Mark probably gives the Aramaic term used by Peter, while Matthew and Luke translated it by two words substantially equivalent. It is a striking instance of unity in variety. There are many other differences between the third gospel and the other two, but they involve no disagreement, and merely serve to evince the independence of the several writers, increasing the value of their testimony.

(b) The accounts agree in every essential point. For they testify in common: (1) that about one week had elapsed since a given event, (2) when Jesus took Peter, James and John with him and went up into a mountain; (3) that he was there transfigured before them, (4) his face becoming radiant with light as the sun, (5) and his garments white as snow; (6) that Moses and Elias at the same time appeared to them, (7) talking with Jesus; (8) that Peter addressed the Saviour, saying: 9) "Master, it is good for us to be here; (10) let us make three tents, (11) one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias," (12) when a cloud overshadowed them, and (13) a voice proceeded from the cloud, saying: (14) "This is my beloved Son; (15) hear ye him;" (16) that therefore the disciples looked around and saw Jesus only, and (17) that they did not at that time report what they had seen.

(c) According to Neander the Transfiguration may have been a purely subjective phenomenon: "The disciples, worn out with fatigue, fell asleep while Jesus was praying, and the impressions made by his prayer and their previous conversation with him, were reflected in a vision. At length their slumbers were disturbed, and in a half-waking condition, they saw and heard what followed." This view of the event is professedly drawn from the narrative of Luke, but it is hardly supported, much less required, by that narrative. Besides, it is difficult to believe that the phenomenon, if purely psychological, could have been the same in all. To remove this difficulty, Neander conjectured that only Peter reported the event. But this appears to be incompatible with the differ-

ences between the several accounts. Moreover, the first two Evangelists testify explicitly that "Jesus was transfigured before them;" the change was in Him. They also mention that Jesus "charged his disciples not to make known what they had seen, until he was risen from the dead." Luke does not mention this charge, but he remarks that "they were silent and reported to no one in those days anything of what they had seen," a statement which is perfectly explained by the charge referred to. And, finally, Luke himself appears to say that the transfiguration was witnessed by the disciples awake. Alford translated *διαγορηγόρησαντες*, *having kept awake*, and remarks: "The word is expressly used to show that it was *not merely a vision* seen in sleep." This is true even if we translate: "And awaking they saw his glory," etc.

(d) Paulus represents the transfiguration as objective and at the same time natural. While Jesus was praying the disciples fell asleep. During their sleep he went further up the mountain and was joined by two strangers. By the sound of voices the sleepers were at length awakened, and just then the rays of the morning sun fell on the person of Jesus and seemed to cover him with celestial glory. Presently a cloud gathered round him, and at the moment some one uttered the words: "This is my beloved son." A truly wonderful exposition! Why then did Jesus charge his disciples not to tell what they had seen? And how did they fix upon Moses and Elias as the companions of Jesus? And how could Jesus, with his wonderful insight and power to detect the thoughts of man, fail to notice and correct the mistake of his disciples? Such an imputation not only sets aside the plain meaning of the text, but assails the moral integrity of Christ.

(e) Strauss appeals to those passages of the Old Testament which speak of God as clothed with light; of the face of Moses as shining when he came down from the mount (Ex. xxxiv: 29 sq); of the feet of those on the *mountains* who bring glad tidings (Is. lii: 7); and of the coming of Elias (Mal. iv: 5), as uniting to produce this legend. It was felt, he conjectures, that the face, and indeed the whole person of the Messiah, must at some time or in some place be covered with super-



natural glory. The fittest time for this would be a little before his death, and the fittest place a mountain. So out of these materials was gradually formed the myth which reads like history in the gospels. This interpretation is incompatible with the perfect simplicity of the gospel narratives, and with the striking harmony in diversity which they exhibit. Besides there are no good reasons for denying the historical truth of the text.

By what means the disciples identified Moses and Elias we are not informed ; perhaps it was by something in their conversation, possibly it was by the testimony of Jesus afterwards. As to the form of their manifestation, Luke remarks that it was "in glory;" but whether in their glorified bodies, having already by way of anticipation and exception entered upon their final state, or in temporary and miraculous forms of light, is not determined by the text. The former may very well be supposed of Elias, who was borne up into heaven in a chariot of fire, but not so well of Moses, who died and was buried. Hence it has been conjectured that Elias, appearing in his glorified body, was more conspicuous than Moses in whatever visible splendor he was clad, and that this distinction is intimated by the turn of expression found in Mark : "There appeared unto them Elias with Moses ;" but the foundation for such a conjecture in the language of Mark is evidently precarious.

The chief purpose of the Transfiguration was, for the time being, to strengthen the faith of the disciples in the Divine Nature of Jesus. For a week they had been left to ponder his words respecting his approaching death, to think of his feeble humanity about to fall beneath the strokes of unsparing hatred, and now they were permitted to have a glimpse of his glory ; for he was ever accustomed to offset a special revelation of his human nature by a special revelation of his Divine. He was the image and representative of God as well as of man—the God-man.

Lastly, the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead (Matt. xxviii: 1 sq., Mark xvi: 1 sq., Luke, xxiv: 1 sq., John xx: 1 sq., I. Cor. xv: 1 sq.), claims our attention. This event, we know,

is generally ascribed to God the Father, e. g., Gal. i : 1. But the Father's action does not exclude that of the Son. Whatever is done by any one Person of the Adorable Trinity, is done in conjunction with, not in separation from, the other Persons. "It remaineth therefore," says Bishop Pearson, on the Creed, p. 390, "that Christ by that power which he had within himself, did take his life again which he had laid down, did reunite his soul unto his body from which he had separated it when he gave up the ghost, and so did quicken and revive himself : and so it is a certain truth, not only that God the Father raised the Son, but also that God the Son raised himself." (See John ii : 19-22 ; x : 17-18, and cf. John v : 21, Romans i : 4.)

If, however, this event properly belongs to our course, it should without doubt be examined. For if Jesus Christ truly died and rose again, all his claims must be accepted as just, and every objection to the occurrence of miracles as such must be acknowledged futile. This stupendous event, proving him to be what he professed to be, the Son of God, not only furnishes a sample of the strictly miraculous, but even makes it probable that other miracles signalized his earthly course. On the other hand, to disprove the resurrection of Jesus, were it possible, would be to undermine the whole structure of Christianity. "If Christ be not risen," writes an apostle, "then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." To deny the possibility of miracles is to deny the resurrection of Christ and to reject the Christian religion.

The reality of Christ's death will hardly at the present day be called in question by any one who admits the general truthfulness of the gospels. For we have in effect the testimony of those who refrained from breaking the limbs of Jesus because he was already dead, although, to make assurance doubly sure, a spear was thrust into his side ; we have also in effect the testimony of those who had sought his death with implacable rancor, and who would give themselves no rest till they knew it to be accomplished, for they were anxious to prevent a secret removal of his body, but did not whisper a suspicion of his being still alive ; we have still further the

evidence afforded by his lying in the tomb two nights and a day; and, lastly, we have the direct assertion of all the Evangelists that he verily gave up the ghost and died. Besides, if he was stolen away from the tomb and animation restored by natural means, what became of him afterwards? where did he live? when and how did he die? and whence his moral power over his disciples to the end of their lives.

In considering the evidence of his resurrection from the dead we remark, (a) that no real contradictions appear in the testimony. As to the time when the women first visited the tomb on the morning of the resurrection the Evangelists seem to disagree. Matthew says that they came "as it was dawning into the first day of the week." Luke, that they came "very early in the morning." John, that Mary Magdalene came "early, when it was yet dark;" and Mark, that they came "very early, when the sun was risen." The words of John are said to contradict those of Mark; but if we assume, which is not strictly necessary, that both refer to the time when the women reached the tomb, it will be unreasonable to assert a contradiction. For while John says it was "early" (*πρωί*) in the morning, Mark says it was "very early" (*λίαν πρωί*), and we may therefore conclude that his words, "when the sun was risen," do not probably refer to a later hour than those of John, "when it was yet dark." They came at early dawn, when the darkness of night was passing through twilight into day. If this be thought inconsistent with Mark's language, he must be said to disagree not only with the other Evangelists, but also with himself. But Dr. Robinson has shown, we think, that the expression "when the sun was risen" is sometimes used to signify the early dawn or morning twilight. "As the sun is the source of light and day, and his earliest rays produce the contrast between night and dawn, so the term *sun-rising* came in popular usage, by a metonymy of cause for effect, to be put for all that earlier interval, when his rays still struggling with darkness do yet usher in the day; (cf. Jud. ix : 33 ; Ps. civ : 22 ; II. Kings iii : 22 ; II. Sam. xxiii : 4)." But it is also possible that Mark refers by the words "very early," to the time when the women started from



their lodgings to repair to the tomb, and by the words "when the sun was risen," to the time when they were all assembled at the tomb. This interpretation is defended at length by Gilbert West, in his treatise on the Resurrection of Christ, and it is far more reasonable than the hypothesis of a contradiction between the several accounts. Indeed, we do not see how it can be made to appear improbable, much less absurd.

We forbear to examine in detail the other supposed contradictions. For they all rest upon the assumption that each writer undertook to give a complete account of Christ's appearance to his disciples. But there is nothing whatever in the gospels, fairly interpreted, to warrant this assumption, while there is very much to prove it false. Not only the obvious consideration that no history or biography can be exhaustive, but also the whole structure of the gospels and the express declaration of John, make it certain that the Evangelists did not intend to relate all the events of our Saviour's life. Each one included in his narrative such and so many of those events as were requisite to place before the minds of his particular readers a truthful image of the Redeemer's character and work.

(b.) That Jesus, according to the testimony here given, showed himself alive to his disciples after his crucifixion. Passing over for the present the witness of the angels, let us examine the evidence for his appearing on several different occasions to his friends. (1) *To Mary Magdalene*. It appears that she went very early in the morning with other women to the sepulchre, and seeing it open, inferred that the body of Jesus had been removed. Without stopping to enter the tomb with her companions, she ran hastily into the city to notify Peter and John of what had been seen. These two disciples in turn ran swiftly to the tomb, and were followed, doubtless, at a slower pace, by Mary. Meanwhile the other women had entered the sepulchre, seen the vision of angels, and gone, perhaps by another way, into the city to find some of the twelve. Having carefully examined the tomb, noting the position of the linen clothes and the folded napkin, Peter and John went away, but Mary lingered on the spot weeping, and

as she looked into the sepulchre, saw two angels in white. Abandoned to grief and thinking only of her Saviour, the sight did not terrify her, but answering their question, "Woman, why weepest thou?" "Because they have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid him," she turned, to behold Jesus himself standing near. At first she did not recognize him even by his voice, but when he uttered her name, the well known accents could not be mistaken, and she cried, Rabboni, casting herself perhaps with unutterable emotion at his feet. For some reason Jesus would not then permit her to detain him; whether she actually embraced his feet in the ecstasy of her joy and love is not determined by the text; but she was sent with a message to the disciples. Now it is observable that the conduct of Mary, as thus represented, was natural and consistent throughout. She had been forgiven much and therefore loved much. Hence her grief was passionate and absorbing. She concluded that the body of Jesus had been taken away by his enemies from the tomb, and not a thought of his resurrection entered her mind. Only when his well remembered voice pronounced her name was her mistake corrected, and the person who stood before her recognized by an "infallible proof" as her risen Lord. In such a case as this the sense of hearing was even surer than that of sight, and could not well be deceived.

(2) *To other women.* These had left the sepulchre, it would seem, when Peter and John reached it; but how long before cannot be ascertained. Nor do we know how long the two apostles were at the tomb, or how long Mary was there after they left before Jesus appeared to her. All this may have taken place in a brief period, while the other women were yet on their way to the remaining disciples in a distant part of the city. Hence Jesus, who no longer subjected his movements to the ordinary laws of nature, "met them, saying, all hail!" and they came and held him by the feet and worshipped him." Soon, however, they were dismissed with substantially the same message to the disciples which had been given already to Mary Magdalene.

In this instance it will be noted that the sense of hearing

was addressed by the risen Saviour as well as the sense of sight, and both of them served to identify his person. A third sense was applied to verify the reality of his body. Moreover, the witnesses were several in number. So many senses of so many persons were not likely to be deceived. Nor was the phenomenon thus attested mental and subjective. Against this view the number of persons is decisive; for the very same hallucination would not have seized them all at once, especially as they had no reason to expect a manifestation of their Lord at that time.

(3) *To the apostle Peter.* This is mentioned by Paul, who says that "Christ died for our sins and rose again, that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve." Luke also declares that when the two disciples returned from Emmaus they found the eleven gathered together saying, "The Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared unto Simon." The testimony of this apostle was of such a nature as to be credited by his fellow apostles, although they had distrusted the accounts of the women; but whether their faith was due to the character of Peter as a witness, or to the particulars which he gave of Christ's interview with him, we are unable to say.

(4) *To Cleopas and another disciple.* The Evangelists do not write as men who are afraid of being disbelieved. They evidently make it a point to state the simple truth, so far as they go, whether it be liable to perversion or not. The narrative before us illustrates this remark. It did not convince the disciples, when they first heard it, that Jesus had really appeared to Cleopas and his companion. Some of the details were as perplexing to them as to us. Yet the narrative is given without apology or explanation. The Evangelists are content to let it speak for itself. Mark simply testifies that Jesus "appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked and went into the country." But Luke describes the scene at length, saying that as Cleopas and another disciple were going to Emmaus Jesus joined them in the way and opened to them the Scriptures, yet "their eyes were holden that they should not know him." Afterwards, in the breaking of bread, "their eyes were opened and they knew him; and he vanished out



of their sight." Perhaps his countenance and the tones of his voice were somewhat changed after his resurrection, but not to such a degree as to prevent recognition, when carefully observed by those who knew him well, and therefore by the power of Christ "their eyes were holden" until He saw fit to be recognized. Then He withdrew his miraculous restraint on their sight, and, it may be, employed the very tones of voice and gestures of benediction which He had been wont to use on similar occasions before his decease. When now the recognition was complete, and they knew that Jesus had appeared to them—he was gone from their sight. "Although the lateness of their recognition may appear strange," says Neander, "the *time* of it—just at the repetition of an accustomed habit—is entirely natural. There is not even a mystical feature about it, in itself considered." And the circumstance that for a time these two disciples did not know the person of Christ is no proof that they were mistaken afterwards. Nay, it should rather lead to an opposite conclusion, for it must have made them doubt the evidence of their senses, unless that evidence had been positive and indubitable. To destroy the force of their testimony one must prove the record of Luke to be unworthy of confidence; for the events, however mysterious, attested by that record, require for their explanation the fact that "Jesus himself," and no other being, whether human or angelic, appeared to Cleopas and his fellow disciple. There seems to be no sufficient reason for supposing that he partook of any food at this time. Indeed the language of Luke is unfavorable to such a view, and we may probably say without rashness that he ate nothing with the two disciples.

5. *To the Apostles, Thomas being absent.* It was now evening, and Jesus had already, during the day, manifested himself four times to his followers. Those whom he had joined on their way to Emmaus came back at once to the city, and found the Apostles assembled with their friends, speaking of Christ's appearance to Simon. The doors being shut for fear of the Jews, the two disciples began to describe the Saviour's interview with them, but though Peter had been believed, their testimony was heard with distrust. Just then Jesus himself

stood in the midst of this astonished group, and said: "Peace be unto you!" Reproving them for their unbelief and hardness of heart in not receiving the testimony of those who had seen him since the morning, he showed them his hands and feet, and suffered them to handle these that they might identify him beyond a doubt; he reminded them that a spirit had not flesh and bones as they perceived him to have, and he called for food which he ate before them. Scepticism was no longer possible, and the disciples rejoiced at the sight of their risen Lord. In the wise providence of God all the Apostles were suffered to become disheartened and distrustful. The death of Christ had destroyed their fondest hopes, and in their grief and despondency they seem to have forgotten his announcement of a speedy resurrection. The words which he had spoken to them on this point were strangely dark to their minds, and notwithstanding his attempts to forewarn them, his death and resurrection took them completely by surprise. But their dulness and unbelief were permitted for our profit. Such evidence was necessary to convince them, as leaves scepticism without excuse for all time. They were slow to believe that we might have no reason to doubt. Hence Jesus now appeared to a company of disciples who knew him well, permitting them to see his face, to hear his voice, to examine the print of the nails in his flesh, to handle his body, and verify its reality, and to behold him eating before them. He also reminded them of his own words in the past, and explained to them the Scriptures. It is difficult for us to conceive of any better evidence which could have been given to them of his resurrection. They were unable longer to doubt, and equally impossible will it be for us to do so, unless we deny the historical credibility of these accounts. Such a denial must rest, in the end, upon the *a priori* assumption that miracles are absurd, and revelation impossible, while this again falls back upon Atheism or Pantheism for its only support.

6. *To the Apostles, Thomas being present.* When Thomas was informed by the other apostles that they had seen the Lord as just described, he replied: "Unless I see in his hands the print of the nails, and thrust my finger into the print of

the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe." Here was scepticism sufficiently stubborn; yet for wise reasons Jesus condescended to remove it, even in the way prescribed by this unbelieving disciple. For one week later (on the next Lord's Day), when the disciples were assembled together, with Thomas, the doors being shut, Jesus stood again in the midst of them, and said: "Peace be unto you!" Then saith He to Thomas: "Reach hither thy finger, and see my hands; and reach thy hand and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him: My Lord and my God! Jesus saith unto him: Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and have believed!" The same remarks are applicable to this as to the preceding manifestation of Jesus to his disciples. The history must be rejected, or the certainty of Christ's resurrection must be admitted. But the rejection of the gospels as history is impossible, except from the atheistic or pantheistic standpoint.

7. *To Seven Apostles in Galilee.* We have already spoken of this interview in considering the second miraculous draught of fishes. We then had occasion to notice the change in Christ's way of living and holding intercourse with his followers after his resurrection; the fact that He was wont to appear to them suddenly and mysteriously; that his body seemed to be wholly subject, not miraculously, but according to the laws of a higher economy, to the spirit; and that in this respect his appearance to the seven at the lake of Tiberias was in perfect harmony with all his earlier manifestations. This coincidence was noted as a sign of truth. It must, however, be carefully borne in mind that his body was real, material, having flesh and bones, as before the crucifixion. Hence it could be identified by the natural senses of those who had been familiar with him for three years. However easily he could withdraw himself from view, it was morally impossible for him to deceive their senses by presenting an unreal, unsubstantial body to them *as real*. And in the present case our Saviour's conversation with Peter, his thrice repeated question: "Lovest thou me?" and his thrice repeated charge:



"Feed my lambs" (or sheep), gave them the fullest opportunity to identify his person, and render mistake impossible.

8. *To the Apostles and above five hundred Brethren in Galilee.* Matthew testifies that the eleven went in Galilee into a mountain, where Jesus had directed them to meet, and that then "they saw and worshipped him; but some doubted." The last statement suggests that others besides the eleven were present; for all these had seen the Saviour twice at least, and had been fully convinced of his resurrection. Paul supplies a fact which explains this clause, if, as seems altogether probable, the five hundred and upwards, whom he mentions as having seen Jesus at one time after his resurrection, were present at this appointed meeting. That it was an appointed meeting, on a particular mountain, certainly favors the hypothesis that it was intended for the disciples of that region generally, and not for the Apostles merely. Adopting this view, it is very interesting to observe how the statement of Paul incidentally and undesignedly throws light upon that of Matthew; for it cannot surely be strange that of these five hundred some doubted. It was the first time they had seen the Lord since his resurrection, and many of them had not, in all probability, as yet heard the details of apostolic testimony respecting his earlier appearances. We say "undesignedly," for it must be obvious to every one that Paul had no thought of confirming or explaining the words of Matthew, otherwise he would have identified by some direct reference the appearance of which he wrote with that described in the first gospel. He does, however, distinctly affirm that "the greater part" of the more than five hundred brethren by whom Jesus was seen at one time were still alive when he was writing his first letter to the Corinthians, and could therefore bear witness to the truth of his record. This is a point which the apostle might well notice at that time.

9. *To James, (the Lord's Brother?)* For a knowledge of this fact we are also indebted to the Apostle Paul, but he gives no description of the interview. Indeed, we are not perfectly certain to which of the persons called James, he alludes, but he probably meant to signify the one who was then bishop of the

church at Jerusalem; for his readers would be more likely to think of this James than of any other. Nor is it possible to determine the place where Jesus manifested himself to James, whether in Jerusalem or in Galilee; most interpreters think it was in Jerusalem.

10. *To all the Apostles.\** The apostles were now in Jerusalem, and Jesus appears to have met them for the purpose of renewing to them his promise of the Holy Spirit, and of charging them to remain in the holy city until this promise was fulfilled. The notices of this interview are very brief, and we have no reason to suppose it was occasioned by any lingering doubt in the minds of the apostles as to his resurrection. It was rather granted them for their comfort and instruction.

11. *To all the Apostles.* Luke mentions that having come together, they inquired of Jesus if he was about to restore *at that time* the kingdom to Israel; thus intimating their "expectation that his kingdom would be, to some extent, a temporal one." Jesus replies: "It is not for you to know the times or occasions which the Father fixed in his own power;" but he promised them once more, through the descent of the Holy Spirit, strength for the work assigned them, and added: "Ye shall be my witnesses, both in Jerusalem, and all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth." Meanwhile he led them forth to the neighborhood of Bethany, and, while their eyes were upon him, and he was blessing them, was taken up into the air, and a cloud received him out of their sight. But as they were gazing towards heaven, two men stood beside them in white raiment, and asserted that Jesus had now gone up into heaven from which he would, in like manner, return hereafter.

Of the Evangelists only Mark and Luke describe the ascension of Christ, but Peter not only speaks of Him as "exalted by the right hand of God, and ascended into heaven" (Acts ii: 33, 34), but also insists that no one could be an apostle unless he had been with the disciples all the time that the Lord

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\* I. Cor., xv: 7. Acts i: 4-5, cf. Lu. xiv: x 49.

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went in and out among them, from the baptism of John unto that same day when "he was taken up" from them (Acts i: 21, 22), and Paul describes the Saviour as one whom "God had raised from the dead, and set at his own right hand in the heavenly places" (Eph. vi: 21), while John puts on record his words to Mary Magdalene: "Go to my brethren, and say to them: "I ascend to my Father and your Father and my God and your God." But it is needless to seek for evidence on this point, since no one at the present day will be so inconsistent as to deny the ascension of Christ while conceding the fact of his resurrection. If Jesus rose from the dead, according to his prediction, he also, beyond any doubt, ascended into heaven, and "sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high."

12. *To the Apostle Paul.* In proof of this we have the testimony of Paul himself: "Last of all he was seen of me also" (I. Cor. xv: 8, cf. ix: 1; Acts xix: 17, 27; xxii: 14; also xxii: 18). Such, doubtless, was the appearance of Christ to this apostle as to afford decisive evidence of his being in reality Jesus of Nazareth. Yet his body was already glorified; it seems to us, therefore, that Paul's testimony goes to prove that our "spiritual bodies" hereafter will bear some perceptible likeness to our present bodies. If so, they may facilitate the recognition of earthly friends in the world to come.

In view of the records already considered, it is not surprising that Luke asserts that he "showed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs" to his chosen disciples, "during forty days appearing to them." Says Professor Hackett: "The language seems to show that the first Christians had distinctly revolved the question, whether the Saviour's resurrection was real or not, and had assured themselves of its reality by evidence which did not admit in their minds of the shadow of a doubt." We do not see how the evidence could have been made more satisfactory to us. No valid objections have ever been urged against it.

Having now completed our survey of the records of Christ's miracles, we submit a few thoughts on the testimony which they afford.



The number of witnesses is ample. The testimony would be scarcely more convincing were this number greater. Several of the miracles (six) are related by two of the Evangelists, a still larger number (twelve) by three of them, and two at least by four of them. Moreover, such is the character of these miracles, so many traits of moral likeness do they exhibit, that whoever admits the reality of those recorded by two or three of the Evangelists will have no hesitation in admitting the reality of all the rest. But Mark and Luke, it may be said, were not witnesses of the events which they describe. Perhaps not; yet their narratives give evidence of being no more than accurate records of testimony delivered by immediate witnesses. They were familiar with the personal attendants of Jesus, and had listened with deep interest and reverence to their accounts of his mighty works. Luke declares that his gospel is but a careful and orderly statement of what the eye-witnesses and servants of the word had reported, and the pages of Mark, to say nothing of early tradition, prove that he is giving the testimony of one who knew by direct observation whereof he affirmed. Besides the miracles of Jesus were not wrought in a corner. They were performed in open day, and often in public places. In every instance several witnesses were present, and therefore neither Mark nor Luke could have the slightest difficulty in ascertaining from more than one eye-witness the particulars of each miracle.

The integrity of these witnesses is also above suspicion. No trace of a sinister purpose appears in their writings. They put on record the humble origin, the mysterious temptation, and the hard sayings of Jesus. They describe his agony in the garden, his faintness under the cross, and his dreadful cry at the withdrawal of his Father's presence. And they utter no word in explanation or in extenuation of such facts. It was clearly no part of their aim to make a hero of their Master, to eulogize his character, his works, or his words. A sacred reverence for his person pervades their narratives, and they venture neither to praise, to expound, nor to criticise his teachings. So, too, they put on record their own mistakes

and follies and sins, their prejudice, ambition, unbelief. Very distinct, yet by no means flattering, is the portrait which they have sketched of themselves, yet so intent were they on the one purpose of their writing, viz: to embalm the precious words of Jesus and the leading events of his ministry, that they seem never to bring themselves to notice, except in so far as this was necessary in giving a history of Christ. Besides, what motive could lead deceivers and impostors, while endeavoring to foist a spurious revelation on mankind, to make the moral character of their religion so pure, the life which it enjoins so holy, the sanctions enforcing love and mercy so terrible? Can a clean thing come out of an unclean? Or what advantage could they hope to reap in this life, or in that which is to come, by such falsehood, arraying themselves against kindred and friends, God and honesty, to honor a blasphemer or enthusiast who had died ignominiously? The integrity of the Evangelists cannot be questioned or denied by any sane man.

Furthermore, the powers of observation and memory possessed by these witnesses were excellent. For they narrate with singular clearness and vividness. The events which they describe seem often to be taking place before our eyes. The persons whom they introduce speak out their characters and live in our presence. And the words which they record are in keeping with the various speakers and circumstances. Every clause tells. Narratives so brief could not well be more graphic. They are too abrupt, concise and full of thought to be fictitious; too natural and life-like to be legends. The writers do not waver, hesitate or modify, as if uncertain about the precise fact; but they speak freely, positively and to the point, as men who know the certainty of what they affirm. No writers in any age have given better evidence of careful observation and distinct recollection. When they wrote these memoirs of Jesus their mental vision seems to have been perfectly clear, without the slightest mist or haze. "It is found indispensable," says Greenleaf, "as a test of truth, and to the proper administration of justice, that every living witness should, if possible, be subjected to the ordeal of a

cross-examination, that it may appear—what were his powers of perception, his opportunities for observation, his attentiveness in observing, the strength of his recollection and his disposition to speak the truth." So far as it is possible to test the character of witnesses by scrutinizing and comparing their written testimony in regard to the same events, the Evangelists have been thus tested by friends and foes, and no witnesses have been found worthy of higher confidence.

Again : The phenomena which they attest were sensible. They speak of what could be heard, or seen, or tasted, or handled. They set forth those events, and as a rule those only, which fell under the notice of their senses. They propose no philosophy of miracles or of history; they undertake no explanation of spiritual powers or processes; they answer no curious questions of the speculative reason. "In its grand, child-like, and holy simplicity, the narrative passes by such questions of the intellect, just as a child moves among the riddles of nature and of life, as if they existed not." The special task of the evangelists was to report the words and acts of Jesus, with their manifest consequences, and this task they performed in the fittest manner conceivable. It is also worthy of notice, that when the evidence of a particular sense was requisite in order to verify any miracle, opportunity was never wanting to apply that sense. In this way were tested the wine at Cana, the bread for the multitudes, and the risen body of Christ.

Once more, their testimony as to these phenomena is positive. The style of the Evangelists indicates certain knowledge. It seems to say, with modest yet serene confidence : "We have not followed cunningly devised fables," but "that which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled, declare we unto you." They do not write as men who are uncertain whether they know the facts or not. They "do not write as men who are fearful that their statements will be discredited, and therefore anxious to confirm them by heaping up evidence." They bear themselves as intelligent witnesses, whose duty is to state facts of which they are distinctly cognizant, and no more. They never



venture beyond the sphere of vivid into that of dim recollection or uncertain conjectures. No philosophical reflections, no special pleadings, no gushes of emotion or flashes of indignation, no eulogies or apologies, mar the simplicity of the gospel narrative. With clearness, brevity and dignity, do they relate the events of our Saviour's ministry as facts too certain to be called in question by any honest mind, and too important to be exalted by any effort of human speech. Especially is this true of their accounts of the miracles wrought by Christ.

Again : The testimony of the Evangelists is independent. They rarely, if ever, copy from one another. Indeed, the differences are so marked as to forbid the hypothesis of even a common traditional source, on which any two of them were dependent. They are rather such as might be expected in case several witnesses of the same events were to describe them fully as presented to their observation. In the course of our study there has been frequent occasion to notice this feature of the gospel narrative. Wherever the same miracle has been described by different Evangelists, the originality of each writer has been apparent. In all the minor details, as well as in the phraseology, there has been ample evidence of freedom and freshness. The bearing of this fact upon the value of these records as testimony is obvious. It makes each of them a separate witness, and the weight of their united voice irresistible. It shows the impossibility of mistake or collusion.

Their testimony, as we have seen, is also in substance harmonious. There is just such an agreement about essentials as might be anticipated in the evidence of persons who were accurately describing real events, each from his own point of view. The harmony is not verbal or formal, but substantial, pertaining to the main facts and moral features of the transaction, while the diversity is circumstantial, and never of such a kind as to evince ignorance or prejudice. The union of these two characteristics in the sacred narrative is partially explained by admitting the occurrence of the miracles which they relate, and fully, we may add, by supposing the mental

powers of the Evangelists to have been exalted and guided by inspiration in making this record. But whether they were inspired or uninspired, the actual phenomena of their writings can never be accounted for without conceding the truth of what they say, and the working of many miracles by Christ.

Further : The miracles which the gospels describe were connected with the teaching of Jesus. They enter many times into the substance as well as the form of his discourses. Rend them away from their place in the record and many a precious message must go with them, for the latter could never have fallen from his lips of truth without the former. But this is not all. His miracles, according to the evangelical record, were closely connected with the words and conduct of his foes. Indeed, they enter into the very warp and woof of our Saviour's history. Remove them from the gospels and the pieces which remain can be brought together and made one by no mortal skill. One after another will be found worthless, until it becomes evident that by rejecting the miracles of Christ the whole gospel is condemned. No middle post is tenable ; whoever is not for the evangelical record, miracles included, is against it ; whoever does not welcome Christianity as a supernatural religion in origin and character, does not welcome it at all. The birth, the insight, the wisdom, the moral purity, and the matchless teaching of Christ, were all miraculous, no less so than his resurrection from the dead and his ascension into heaven.

Still further : The aim of Christ's miracles was godlike. They were revelations of goodness and incentives to faith. They opened a door for the entrance of spiritual life or strengthened the confidence of weak disciples. They were outgoings of that spirit which pervades and characterizes the New Covenant, and some of them were emblematical of redemptive working in the kingdom of grace. The opening of the eyes of the blind symbolized, we cannot doubt, the higher act of imparting spiritual discernment ; the cleansing of lepers was an emblem of purifying the hearts of men from sin ; raising the dead was typical of a better resurrection

hereafter; and casting out demons foreshadowed the ultimate overthrow of Satan's kingdom. These are but specimens. Besides, no miracle was wrought to gratify a vain curiosity. No mighty work was performed for the sake of display, or to win human applause. His power was never exercised at the beck of captious men, nor his hand stretched forth to save himself from toil or reproach. His moral aim, both in miracles and teachings, was one; and so godlike as to be on a plane with the greatest miracle, making the latter seem to be in perfect keeping with his whole life. "It is remarkable," says Prof. Harris, "that, however incredible the Scripture miracles would seem in any other book, we are never conscious of surprise, never regard them as incredible, incongruous or unexpected, when we read of them in the Bible. The central thought that this is the record of God's feelings and acts in saving men, is so vast, the truths opened to us are so stupendous, the scenes disclosed so sublime, every step in the progressing story is so manifestly the step of the Almighty, that these great miracles harmonize with the grandeur of the whole revelation; they seem to us no more surprising or incredible than the rainbow with which God adorns the retiring storm, or the stars with which he nightly gems the sky."

In view of these characteristics of our Saviour's miracles, as attested by the Evangelists, the mythical hypothesis is incredible. "The narratives bear every appearance of reality on their surface, and no skill or ingenuity can discover anything of a different character underneath the surface. The actors are real, the actions are real, the conversations, the discussions which accompany or rise out of the actions, and the proceedings which result from them, are real." When we reflect upon the references to natural scenery in the gospels, to particular mountains, hills, valleys, lakes, rivers and pools; to natural productions, as olives, vines, fig-trees, wheat, tares, mustard, lilies and the like; to the works of man, as houses, synagogues, boats, jars, baskets, beds, boxes, etc.; to the habits of the people, religious, social or domestic, at home or abroad, as hosts or as guests, at weddings and funerals, on the Sabbath or at the feasts, as teachers, shepherds or fishers; to

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the civil divisions and relations of the country at that time, so numerous, complicated and fluctuating ; to rulers mentioned by name, whether kings, tetrarchs, governors, procurators, centurions, publicans and soldiers, or high-priests, priests, members of the Sanhedrim and rulers of the synagogues ; to diseases prevalent in the land, as fever, leprosy, blindness, palsy ; and to the passions, prejudices, hopes and fears, of rulers and people ;—if we reflect upon all these references and many more, remembering that in no single instance, however trifling, have the gospels been proved incorrect, while in hundreds and hundreds of the nicest details they are allowed to be most exact, it will be absolutely impossible for us to believe that these records were forged in the second century, and that their accounts of miracles wrought by Christ are legendary. Scepticism enforces a credulity which is truly monstrous to the sober reason of Christians ; a credulity which is capable of but one explanation, namely, a resolve to dethrone reason sooner than accept Christ.

Finally : It is obvious that the evidential value of miracles is still very great. That it was so in the time of Christ and of the apostles is certain from their own declarations. In passages too numerous for citation, Jesus appealed to his mighty works as proof of his Messiahship. His disciples did the same. So also did Nicodemus and the man who was born blind. And even the bitter foes of Jesus could not agree in holding that a sinner, in league with Satan, could do all the mighty works ascribed to him. Jesus and his contemporaries were right. Genuine miracles do ratify the claims of him at whose word they are wrought ; for unless Divine he cannot work them himself, unless truthful God cannot be supposed to work them in his behalf. Miracles are the appropriate credentials of a messenger from God, and when properly attested they are decisive. Such were those of Jesus, and whatever value they may have had as revelations of other truth, they taught and established this beyond a question, that He was the Christ, the Son of the Living God. For us they do the same, inasmuch as the evidence of their reality is incontestible.



## ARTICLE III.—THE LIFE OF EDWARD IRVING.

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[BY REV. HEMAN LINCOLN, PROVIDENCE, R. I.]

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*The Life of Edward Irving*, Minister of the National Scotch Church.  
By MRS. OLIPHANT. Harper & Brothers, New York.

THE union of England and Scotland under the British crown has conferred great benefits on the smaller kingdom. It has opened new and large fields of enterprise for her energetic sons; has increased her national wealth and resources, and made her a lawful heir to the rich treasures of literature and science accumulated by her larger and more favored neighbor. It has, in short, lifted her social and national life to a higher plane of intelligence and prosperity. But if she has thus been a debtor in many ways to England, she has repaid every obligation received, ten-fold. Her stalwart sons have maintained the honor of the British flag on every hard-fought field from Blenheim and Waterloo to Sevastopol, and Lucknow, and Delhi. Her philosophers, in the persons of Stewart, and Reid, and Hamilton, have given law to English thought during the last century, and in the persons of Adam Smith and McCulloch, have laid a new foundation for the science of political economy. She has furnished her full share of wise statesmen to the cabinet and to Parliament, and far more than her share of brilliant stars in the literary firmament. The race of English giants had died out before Scotch intellect began to develop its best fruits. Shakspeare, and Bacon, and Milton, and Newton flourished before the mind of Scotland was fully quickened by the new life of the Reformation; they have had no successors since in England. But in the last one hundred and fifty years, England has produced no abler historians than Hume and Macaulay, no poet of finer genius than

Burns, no novelist equal to Sir Walter Scott, and no essayists or reviewers worthy to be named with Jeffrey and Wilson, and Macaulay and Carlyle.

Dr. Johnson, with characteristic energy and bitterness, said that the pleasantest of all prospects for a Scotchman was the last hill which separated him from England on his journey to London. But it may be fairly claimed, in return, that if England has proved a good home to the migrating sons of the north, so that London has a larger Scotch population than Edinburgh, they have added greatly to the industry, and thrift, and intelligence of the great metropolis. And foremost among her sons who have made to themselves a name, and exerted an influence in the commercial capital of the world, is Edward Irving, the subject of our present paper.

Mrs. Oliphant has performed her work with an admiration of her hero which too often biases her sober judgment. We cannot agree with the critics generally in bestowing high praise upon her memoir. It is, no doubt, the most complete and satisfactory that has yet appeared. It gives the whole outward history of his life with great fidelity, and compels a more favorable judgment of his character than has been common among sober-minded Christians. It is well written, too, giving evidence of the practised skill acquired by successful efforts in the lighter departments of literature. But it fails to give the reader any satisfactory idea of the man, or of the processes of his mental and spiritual growth. He fails to learn what books he read, what cultivated associates he had, what intellectual forces operated on him, aside from his professional duties. He was for several years a brilliant phenomenon in London, the particular star of the world of fashion; but we can find no proof in this volume that he ever entered fashionable circles as a guest, or was brought in contact with even literary men. He was intimate with Basil Montagu and Coleridge, and with his countrymen, Wilkie and Allan Cunningham, and occasionally crossed the path of Thomas Carlyle, but beyond this we have no knowledge. His diary, kept very minutely for his wife during five weeks of her absence from London, when at the height of his popularity, and occasional

letters to his wife's family, and to personal friends, give some insight into the workings of his inner life; but when one thinks of the full revelations obtained of such men as Dr. Arnold, and John Foster, and James Alexander, through their correspondence, we lay down this bulky volume with disappointment, feeling that Edward Irving is still a mystery, and that Mrs. Oliphant either had scanty material from which to make selections, or has used what was available very unwisely. After a second perusal of the volume, with patient and careful study, we cannot feel that we have added much to our knowledge of the man, though we have learned much of his power and success as a preacher.

He was born in Annan, Dumfriesshire, August 4, 1792. His father was a man of moderate ability, a tanner, with a good trade, and respected by his townsmen. His mother, Mary Lowther, was a tall and handsome woman, of high spirit and strong character, and from her the eight children inherited an uncommon beauty of form and stature, and resolute and energetic wills, verging to obstinacy. For his mother Edward retained until death a most affectionate reverence, and in his later years, when soured by the persecution he had experienced in his native land, he uttered a eulogy which was at the same time a bitter sarcasm on the new spirit growing in the Scottish church. "Evangelicalism," said he, "has spoiled both the minds and the bodies of the women of Scotland — there are no women now like my mother."

Annan was then a very quiet town, feeling none of the pulses of that movement which was shaking France and all Europe into revolution. Little is known of his boyish school-days, and that little is not to his credit. Peggy Paine, a relative of the sceptic, inducted him into the mysteries of the alphabet. Adam Hope, a stern administrator of discipline at the Annan Academy, "used sharp methods to rouse the torpid or indolent brain of the young lad," and ears "pinched till they bled," and confinements in the room after school-hours, showed that the future orator was not an apt scholar in his boyhood. The religious life of Annan was languid or dormant. The clergyman was of the so-called "Moderates,"



whose want of sympathy with the zeal and earnest piety of the Evangelical party is so clearly shown in Dr. Carlyle's autobiography. The forms of better times were, however, still maintained, and the habits of Sunday observance, and Psalm-singing in the evenings, and family prayers, were retained in many households, though the spirit that had once given them life had departed. A few godly patriarchs still lingered in warm sympathy with the spirit of the old covenanters, and young Edward took special delight in visiting their firesides, and listening to the traditions of Scotland's martyr days, and in walking with them on the Sabbath to a Seceding Church at Ecclefechan, a few miles distant, the birth-place and early home of Thomas Carlyle. By this association with men of quiet dignity, and stern manners, he acquired a kind of stately bearing and solemn diction which marked him through life, and the martyr stories fed his imagination more richly than the rude early poems of Scotland, or the mythology of Greece and Rome.

He seems at this time to have loved nature more than books, and bore the palm from most competitors in boyish sports, leaping, running, swimming, and boating. His outdoor life gave him a fine muscular development, and vigorous health, and prepared him for the hard intellectual toil of later years. He was always proud of his great strength, and his impetuous temper led him to use it on occasion where its display was more in harmony with the school of Kingsley and Hughes than the school of Christ. On one occasion he walked with some of his pupils eighteen miles to hear Chalmers preach. Having entered the church, they made their way towards an unoccupied pew in the gallery, when a man stopped them, and putting his arm across the door, told them it was engaged. Irving remonstrated, but in vain, till at last losing patience, he raised his hand, and said: "Remove your arm, or I will shatter it in pieces." The custodian of the pew retreated in alarm, and the weary boys took possession of the seat. At another time he escorted some ladies to a public meeting, and while standing on the steps, waiting for the door to open, a nervous official appeared and tried to thrust the



people back. Laying hold of Irving, he ordered him to move backward, but he quietly raised his stick, and cried in a voice of thunder, "Be quiet, sir, or I will annihilate you," and the frightened door-keeper retreated amid the jeers of the crowd. At another time, when on a pedestrian tour with a friend, they came to a little way-side inn, having but one sitting-room. Having ordered dinner, they left their coats and knapsacks in the room, and went out to examine the neighborhood. When they returned another party was seated in the room, having thrown their equipments into a corner, and appropriated their dinner. Irving expostulated but to no effect. The new comers would not allow them to sit at the table, and resisted their entrance even into the room. Irving, with flushed countenance, strode to the window, threw it open, and called to his comrade, "Will you toss out or knock down," and his truculent face and words soon brought the intruders to terms.

But we have anticipated the order of the narrative. At thirteen he left home with an elder brother, to enter the University of Edinburgh. The sessions lasted from November to May, and these two boys, removed from home and its watch-care, and apparently with no acquaintances, boarded themselves on the simplest fare, in an upper room of one of the lofty Edinburgh houses. It is a hazardous experiment to throw boys on their own responsibility at so tender an age, but the young Irvings came to no harm. Their digestion was not likely to suffer from over-eating, for the regular diet was oat-meal porridge, with an occasional luxury received by comers from home, in the shape of ham and cheese. Mrs. Oliphant says: "The boys came and went, undistinguished, in their country caps and jackets, through streets which, full of character as they are, suggest nothing as little as the presence of a college, and returned to their studies in their little room, with neither tutor nor assistant to help them through their difficulties, and lived a life of unconscious austerity, in which they themselves did not perceive either the poverty or the hardship; which, indeed, it is probable they themselves, and all belonging to them, would have been equally amazed and indignant to have heard either poverty or hardship attributed to."

When the studies of each session were ended, the two lads sent home their chest by the carrier, and performed the journey themselves on foot. Edward made it a point of honor to leap every fence by the way, avoiding in the route the beaten roads and going direct, as the crow flies. They stopped at cottages to drink, or lunch, or sleep, and this early habit of making himself at home with the peasants at their firesides was a good training for his extraordinary success as a pastor in Glasgow and London. Little is known of his habits of reading during these college days. Certain traditions tell of his finding a copy of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity in one of his vacation strolls, of which he became enamored, and of his subsequent expenditure of a sum of money received for other purposes, on a copy of Hooker's Works, "with some odd folios of the Fathers, and Homer, and Newton," with which burden he joyfully trudged all the way from Edinburgh to Annan. As an offset to such reading, one of his college companions testifies that he used to carry a miniature copy of Ossian in his waistcoat pocket, "which he recited with sonorous elocution and vehement gesticulation," and the Arabian Nights was also a favorite companion. . . . No letters or journal remain to indicate that the boys had any sympathy with the brilliant literary circles of which Edinburgh was the centre, or that they even read "*The Edinburgh Review*," then startling the world by its boldness and power.

When his four years of college life had passed, he received his degree, without any special distinction acquired, and devoted himself to teaching to obtain funds for the completion of his studies in theology.

At this time Carlyle met him, and records his impressions :

"The first time I saw Irving was in his native town of Annan. He was fresh from Edinburgh, with college prizes, high character and promise ; he had come to see our school-master, who had also been his. We heard of famed professors, of high masters, classical, mathematical, a whole wonderland of knowledge : nothing but joy, health, hopefulness without end looked out from the blooming young man." p. 39.

The theological course nominally requires a four years residence, but in reality no residence at all, for one can study by

himself at will, and by submitting to the appointed examinations, and delivering the prescribed discourses, may graduate with honor. Irving accordingly spent one session at the Divinity School, and then pursuing his studies during the intervals of teaching, passed his examinations successfully, and in June, 1815, six years after graduating at the college, received his license from the Kirk.

Eight years in all were spent in teaching, two in Haddington, and six in Kirkcaldy, and in this vocation he met with eminent success. Like his old academy teacher, Mr. Adam, he believed in a liberal use of the rod, and strange stories were told of the severity of his chastisements, but by freely mingling with the scholars in their sports, he won their hearty affection, and excited a chivalrous spirit in the school, not unlike that stimulated in the higher forms by Dr. Arnold, at Rugby. He exhibited the same power of endurance in toil which marked his subsequent years in London.

He commenced labor with a private pupil for two hours, at six o'clock in the morning, was in his own school-room for six or seven hours, and gave other private lessons in the evening. Besides this, he was pursuing a regular course of theological studies, and was a member of one or two debating societies, and clubs for literary improvement, including young men of promise from the neighborhood, and several from the University of Edinburgh.

His clerical prospects at this time were not cheering. He preached at Annan, his native place, with some eclat, but at Kirkcaldy the people were restive whenever his tall form was seen in the pulpit, and some of them floated out of church when he went in. He evidently preached over the heads of the people, and their sharp criticism was, "He has ower muckle gran'ner." For three years after receiving his license he continued to teach at Kirkcaldy, having few invitations to preach in any pulpit, and making no favorable impression when he had such privileges. At length, weary of waiting for a call to a pastorate, and hoping that if he were disengaged from other duties an opening might sooner present itself, he resigned his post at Kirkcaldy, and removed to Edinburgh.



But the change did not bring improvement. He had sat in the Kirk at Kirkcaldy for six years, a listener to sermons which failed to realize to him the true idea of preaching. He thought himself capable of higher flights, of a nobler style of Christian oratory, and his great soul fretted that pulpits were closed against him, and the people would not come up to his standard. But his faith in himself did not waver. Like Demosthenes, after his failure before the Athenian people, and Sheridan, when coughed down in Parliament, he determined to succeed. On coming to Edinburgh, he burned all his old sermons, and gave himself, with a high enthusiasm, to the preparation of others, approaching more nearly to his own ideal. It was probably at this time also that he studied with diligence the great masters in English literature and theology. In defending himself at a later day from the charge of "affecting the antiquated manner of ages and times now forgotten," he says: "The writers of those times are too much forgotten, I lament, and their style of writing hath fallen out of use; but the time is fast approaching when this stigma shall be wiped away from our prose as it is fast departing from our poetry. I fear not to confess that Hooker, and Taylor, and Baxter in theology; Bacon, and Newton, and Locke, in philosophy, have been my companions, as Shakespeare, and Milton, and Spenser have been in poetry."

But, in spite of his new sermons, and hard study and generous enthusiasm in his profession, his merits were overlooked alike by pastors and people, and the poor probationer, weary and almost despairing, was half resolved to go out as missionary to the heathen, not under the patronage of a society, but like the early Apostles, without staff or scrip, relying on direct help from heaven. But light suddenly broke on the thick darkness. Some one spoke of him kindly to Dr. Chalmers, who came to Edinburgh to hear him preach at Dr. Thomson's Church. The impression was a favorable one, and he was invited to become a colleague with Dr. Chalmers in St. John's Church, Glasgow. He joyfully accepted the invitation, though with a humility learned from long failure, he frankly said: "I will preach to them if you think fit, but if they bear with my



preaching, they will be the first people who have borne with it."

He was now twenty-seven years old, with a body exulting in its exuberance of health, and a mind leaping to its work as the war-horse to the battle. With an imposing personal presence, six feet three or four inches in height, a voice rarely equalled in its compass and richness of tone, an electric enthusiasm in speaking, which in his best moments seemed like inspiration, and a mind at once original, vigorous, and enriched with the best culture, he might have seemed a formidable rival to Chalmers himself. The people were accustomed to magnificent flights of eloquence, in which they were borne away captive at the will of the preacher. And here was a new suitor for the popular favor, who exulted in soaring on strong wing into the lofty empyrean of thought. It appeared safe to predict the highest success for Irving in this great field. The opportunity had come, and now was the time to show the power that was in him. Yet, strange to say, he failed as a preacher in Glasgow, as he had failed in Kirkcaldy. He was completely overshadowed in the pulpit by the genius of Chalmers. The people generally tolerated him with a kind of resignation, but the whisper would pass from one to another, "It's no himsel' the day," as they left the house with a disappointed look when Irving entered the pulpit. But, if he fell short of his ardent hopes in wielding pulpit power, he was eminently successful in pastoral labors. He was the poor man's friend, and made himself at home by every fireside in the wynds and crowded streets of the great city. He showed rare tact in adapting himself to the prejudices of classes and individuals, and eradicating them. Glasgow was then in a ferment. The manufacturing interest, the life and support of the city, was prostrate, and under the pressure of great suffering, it was feared the masses would rise in wild riot. But Dr. Chalmers, with the foresight and energy of a great statesman, undertook to provide for the extreme wants of ten thousand souls in his parish, by the weekly collection on the church plates, and to his everlasting honor be it said, the effort was successful. All were visited and cheered by

genial sympathy, and so much aid as would not destroy their self respect, and the city was saved. Into this work Irving threw himself with all the enthusiasm of his nature, and though he afterwards became a conservative of the highest style, he now identified himself with the cause of the people. He writes to his brother-in-law a few months after his arrival in Glasgow: "I have visited in about three hundred families, and have met with the kindest welcome, and entertainment, and invitations. Nay, more, I have entered on the tender subject of their present sufferings, in which they are held so ferocious, and have found them, in general, both able and willing to entertain the religious lesson and improvement arising out of it."

So for nearly three years Irving went in and out among the humble homes of Glasgow, winning all hearts by his generous spirit of brotherhood. The people loved him perhaps quite as well as they loved Chalmers, yet they never knew how to understand his stately manners. His uniform salutation on entering was, "Peace be to this house," and, like an apostle he laid his hands on the head of every child, saying: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee." But this man of lofty stature, who on his first entrance into the city was mistaken for a Highland chief or a cavalry officer, and often compared to a leader of brigands, did a work among its suffering thousands, which may be seen at the last Judgment to outweigh in value the results of his more brilliant career in London.

It is greatly to Irving's credit, and shows the true chivalry of his nature, that he never cherished the smallest jealousy of his great colleague. He accepted his subordinate station with perfect humility. He smiled, but never murmured, at the people's dulness in appreciating his pulpit efforts. He vied with the most enthusiastic in his admiration of Chalmers' sagacity and tact, and breadth of view, and irresistible eloquence. And yet he was strong in the conviction that his own sphere was the pulpit, and he should one day shine among its brightest stars.

That time, after long waiting, at length came. A feeble

body in London, called the Caledonian Church, with the congregation reduced to fifty, heard of Chalmers' assistant and sent for him to visit them as a candidate. The impression was favorable, and a call was tendered him to assume the pastorate. To an ordinary man the prospect was not inviting. The chapel was a small one, seating only six hundred, in an unfavorable location, without any elements of social strength in the society. In numbers, in wealth, in intelligence, in all that makes up moral power, the church bore no comparison to that of St. John's, then probably the most flourishing in the Scottish kingdom. But Irving did not hesitate a moment in his choice. He already saw looming up in the future, his brilliant success. His confidence in his own powers was wonderful, and one cannot acquit him of a vanity, which yet had in it many noble elements. He writes to Dr. Martin, his future father-in-law: "One of the few things that binds me to the world is to make a demonstration for a higher style of Christianity, something more magnanimous, more heroic, than this age affects."

To another friend, he writes, after reaching London: "I see a life full of usefulness, and from my fellow-creatures, full of glory, which I regard not, and of all places this is the one for my spirit to dwell in." And in the Introduction to a volume of sermons soon after published, he says: "It hath appeared to the author of this book from more than ten years meditation on the subject, that the chief obstacle to the progress of divine truth over the minds of men, is the want of its being sufficiently presented to them. In this Christian country there are perhaps nine-tenths of every class who know nothing at all about the application and advantages of the single truths of revelation, or of revelation taken as a whole: and what they do not know, they cannot be expected to reverence or obey. This ignorance, in both the higher and lower orders, of religion as a discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, is not so much due to the want of inquisitiveness on their part, as to the want of a sedulous and skilful ministry on the part of those to whom it is intrusted."

With such views and aims he removed to London, and



commenced his labors in the Caledonian Chapel, July 8, 1822. It was precisely the sphere he wished in which to make "a demonstration for that higher style of Christianity" which had kindled his ambition for many years. He was then thirty years of age, "a Herculean man," as Carlyle calls him, adding: "Bodily and spiritually perhaps there was not a man more full of genial, energetic life in all these islands." Exulting in the fulness of strength, he gave himself to the great work before him with the spirit of Paul at Corinth. His industry was marvellous. He writes to a friend in Glasgow: "You are not more regular at your counting-house, nor, I am sure, sooner, neither do you labor more industriously, than I sit in this my study, and occupy my mind for the benefit of my flock." And again: "Every day is to me a day of severe occupation I have no idleness. All my leisure is refreshment for new labor."

For some months his labors met with no extraordinary appreciation or success. His countrymen in London found their way to the little chapel, and its seats began to be well filled, but there seemed no prospect of his rising above the common level of good preachers. But a slight incident made him famous, and sent all London in wild excitement to listen to his eloquence. Sir James Mackintosh dropped in to hear him one Sabbath, and was much impressed with an expression in his prayer, commending some orphans to "the fatherhood of God." He repeated the phrase to Canning, who made an appointment to go with him to the chapel on the next Sabbath. He was fascinated by the power of the preacher, and soon after alluded to the sermon in Parliament, as the most eloquent he had ever listened to. Such praise from the first orator in Parliament, stimulated the curiosity of every member, and on the next Sabbath the little chapel was crowded. From that time Irving's popularity was boundless, and such scenes were witnessed around Hatton Garden, the site of the chapel, as had not been seen in Christendom since the beauty, and wealth, and power of Constantinople flocked to the cathedral to the preaching of Chrysostom. All London went mad after the new preacher. Princes and ladies of royal

blood, the first nobles of the realm, senators, judges, lawyers, literary men, and merchants, flocked in such throngs to the chapel, that only a small fraction could find admittance. For hours before the opening of the services Hatton Garden was filled with carriages, and admission could be obtained only by tickets. The regular congregation was fairly crowded out by the sudden rush of notabilities, and nobles and members of Parliament were seen sitting on the window-sills, grateful even for such accommodations in hearing the eloquent Scotchman—the idol of the hour. John Knox did not command such an audience when his thunders drew the flower of Edinburgh society to Holyrood Chapel; nor Chalmers, when the old Trow Church was crowded on week-days with breathless listeners; nor Bourdaloue, when the splendid court of Louis XIV. trembled under his bold rebukes. Nor was this excitement transitory. It continued for months and years. It was not dissipated by the extraordinary length of his services, which often extended to three hours, of which the sermon occupied two or more. The spell was only broken when, by the adoption of certain heresies of doctrine, he had lost the confidence of the religious world, and by his incessant advocacy of the immediate second advent of the Saviour, he had lost much of the freshness and breadth of his early sermons.

It is natural here to inquire what were the results of his preaching on such a fashionable audience. Never had any man a finer field in which to try his favorite experiment of converting the upper classes. Never was a preacher more faithful in preaching the whole truth, and in rebuking the sins common to high life. He sincerely believed that they could be won to piety, by a right presentation of Christianity. Other preachers, he thought, aimed too low. "They prepare," said he, "for teaching gipsies, for teaching bargemen, for teaching miners, by apprehending their way of conceiving and estimating truth, and why not prepare for teaching imaginative men, and political men, and legal men, and scientific men, who bear the world in hand." But the result was not encouraging to his theory. We do not find the record of a single noble, or lady, or legislator, or eminent intellectual

man gathered among his converts. His own journals tells us almost exclusively of poor young men, and unknown women, and servant girls, who came to inquire the way of salvation. His labors were successful to the end in the conversion of sinners. He writes at one time to Chalmers, that one hundred and seventy had been added to the membership by profession during the year, and at the very time when the new house built for his flock was closed against him, there were two hundred candidates for membership. But he found, in spite of all his eloquent labors and sanguine hopes, that Paul's words were true: "Not many great, not many mighty, not many noble are called." He seems to have discovered his error at a later day, for Gilfillan says he once replied to a gentleman who told him that his published writings were not quite worthy of his fame: "Look here, sir," pointing to a mass of manuscripts below his study-table, "There are scores of sermons incomparably superior to aught I have published. But when I wrote them I was under the impression that I must fight God's cause with the weapons of eloquence and carnal wisdom; I have learned otherwise since, sir, and believe that the simpler and humbler I am in my language, God will prosper my sermons and writings more, according to that scripture which saith: 'When I am weak, then am I strong.' " This may be a traditional story, for Mrs. Oliphant makes no mention of any change in his style of preaching, and we find no allusion to a change of opinions in his correspondence.

It has been commonly supposed that his extraordinary popularity was the occasion of his melancholy fall; and that his brain, intoxicated by the sweet incense from the shrines of fashion, lost its clearness of discernment, and was beguiled by errors and phantasms. If Mrs. Oliphant's volume does no other good service, it will at least relieve his memory from such an imputation. His letters give not the slightest support to this hypothesis. His nature is as frank, his mode of life as simple, and his piety as transparent, at the height of his popularity, as during the weary years when he was waiting for a church and an audience. During the absence of his wife at her father's, for five weeks he kept a daily journal, and for her



benefit. We know of nothing like it in all religious literature. It is very full and minute, giving a perfect insight into his private and public life, his reading, and visiting; his family devotions; his sermons and the process of preparing them; his congregations, inquirers, and visitors; in short, everything which a loving wife, or any one else, would care to know. It is evidently the outpouring of a full heart, and defective only in its want of homely naturalness. But in all its pages, we are bound to say, there is not the smallest evidence of a morbid vanity, or of a brain intoxicated with success. The record reveals a son of Anak, devoted to the work of the ministry, with a simplicity of purpose and a consuming zeal unsurpassed by Baxter or Whitefield in their best days.

But while in the full tide of success it became apparent that he was deficient in a kind of tact, and knowledge of men and occasions, which would guard him against giving great offence to others. In 1823, he published a volume entitled "*Orations and an Argument for Judgment to Come*," and in the introduction, while defending his novel style of presenting truth, he implied the sharpest censure upon other ministers who differed from him. The critics of every order, from the stately Quarterly to the penny-a-liner of the daily press, pounced upon their prey, and rung endless changes on his arrogance, and false taste, and inordinate vanity. He was, however, equal to the occasion, and in his replies carried the war into Africa, giving the critics no occasion to congratulate themselves on their success in their encounters. But he could not so easily heal the wound inflicted on his brethren. He delivered also a sermon at the anniversary of the London Missionary Society, which alienated many of the leaders of the religious public. It was three hours and a half long, a mortal offence in itself, but worse than that, it was an indirect assault on the methods adopted by modern organizations, and an elaborate eulogy on the plan he had once formed, of going forth to the work without any human helpers, and relying solely on the Divine care and promises. Sermons at the anniversaries of the Highland School Society, and the Continental Society also jarred rudely against the opinions of those

who had invited him. It began to be feared by many that his splendid genius had its eccentricities, and would not work in harness to do the common drudgery of life. The sagacious Chalmers, with his thoroughly practical mind, had misgivings about the final issue. He feared the results of eccentricity and imprudence. He was troubled at his strange want of tact. One instance of the latter caused him no little mortification. At the opening of the new church, built for the enlarged congregation, Chalmers was to preach the sermon. The congregation, in their eagerness to obtain good seats, had already been assembled three hours. Irving offered to assist him by reading a chapter. He chose the longest in the Bible, and followed it by an exhaustive prayer. Chalmers writes to his wife: "There was a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayers—forty minutes,—and altogether, it was an hour and a half from the commencement of the service before I began." And again he says: "Mr. Gordon informed me that yesternight Mr. Irving preached on his prophecies at Hackney Chapel for two hours and a half; and although very powerful, yet the people were dropping away. I really fear lest his prophecies, and the excessive length and weariness of his services, may unship him altogether, and I mean to write to him seriously on the subject." But expostulation with Irving was labor thrown away. He cherished such exalted views of ministerial independence, and of his own position as an ambassador of God, that he would listen to no counsel from others. His elders had already remonstrated frequently and with urgency, but he had silenced them, and insisted that he would have at least two hours and a half for his ordinary services.

From the time of the entrance of his church into their new and large house of worship in 1827, Mr. Irving's popularity and influence began to wane. He still drew large audiences. One thousand seats were rented at the opening, and the house was always full, though not crowded. His name was still a tower of strength out of the metropolis, and Scotland, which had failed to recognize his genius before his migration, now atoned for its blindness by an excess of idolatry. The largest

churches were insufficient for the vast crowds that flocked to hear him. His reception at Annan, his birth-place, was a sort of Roman triumph. At Kirkealdy, where he had once found it impossible to win hearers, the church was filled to such an excess that the galleries gave way, and between thirty and forty persons were killed. At Edinburgh, during the meeting of the General Assembly, he preached at six o'clock in the morning to accommodate the delegates, and for two weeks the largest house in the city overflowed at that early hour.

But from this time his career was marked by furious storms, and his descent, though slow, was sure, and in contrast with his previous success, most disastrous. As early as 1824, he began to be infatuated by the study of the prophecies. A simple-minded enthusiast, Mr. Hatley Frere, had attached himself to Irving like a barnacle, hoping to make him an expositor to the public of novel views relating to the immediate second advent of the Saviour. The impressible orator was easily taken captive, and the book of Revelation, with its wonderful visions, became his daily and hourly study. Its seals and vials, and the mysterious cloud-land with which they are concerned, had a singular fascination for him. He fell in also with that remarkable man, Henry Drummond, with the Jewish Wolff, the missionary, and they, with others, formed what was called the Albury Conference, for the study and exposition of the prophetic scriptures. Mr. Irving needed the soberest study and discipline, to hold his imagination in check, and it was quite certain that such associations and influences would lead him far astray.

He adopted also peculiar views of the Incarnation, exceptionable, perhaps, when stated with the greatest caution, but repugnant to every Christian heart, when set forth carelessly by himself or by his disciples. He taught that Christ took upon himself our *fallen* nature. When explaining himself, carefully, the doctrine does not depart widely from orthodoxy. As he says : "The point at issue is simply this, whether Christ's flesh had the grace of sinlessness and incorruption, from its proper nature, or from the indwelling of the Holy Ghost ; I say the latter." But in the minds of many, the statement became identical with another, that Christ's human nature was sinful,



and startled the guardians of orthodoxy to a defence of the old creeds.

Two Scotch preachers, Mr. Erskine, of Linlathen, and Mr. Campbell, of Row, had adopted singular views of the efficacy of the Atonement, teaching that Christ by his death had redeemed the race ; that salvation was not problematical, becoming real to the individual soul only by faith and conversion, but an actual fact, already accomplished for the whole human family. The doctrine, when carried to its logical results, involved the ultimate salvation of all mankind, but these ministers did not present it in that form ; they regarded it as a ground of appeal to all, to accept the universal proffer of love which God makes to his creatures. Mr. Campbell came to London to confer with Irving on this new view, and Irving, without hesitation, adopted it, as the complement to his view of the Incarnation : that Christ "took up fallen manhood into his divine person, in order to prove the grace and the might of Godhead in redeeming it."

Naturally connected with these opinions, was his belief in baptismal regeneration, adopted at an earlier day. In writing to his wife, after the birth of their first child, he says, "Adopt not the base notion into which many parents fall, of waiting for a full conversion, and new birth, but regard that as fully promised to us from the beginning, and let all your prayers, desires, words and thoughts towards the child proceed accordingly. For I think we are all grown virtually adult Baptists, whatever we be professedly, in that we take no comfort or encouragement out of the Sacrament" (p. 174). Dr. Bushnell was anticipated by a quarter of a century in his theory of Christian Nurture.

These views, however, though departing widely from the general faith of the Scotch church, did not expose him to ecclesiastical censure, and it was not till he had become an advocate of the Spirit's continued presence in the church by the miraculous gifts of healing, and prophecy, and tongues, that he fell under the ban. He formed an intimate friendship with a Mr. Alexander Scott, a man of great mental power, but regulated by no sound judgment, and was induced by him to expect a

revelation of the Spirit's miraculous power. This soon appeared, as they supposed, in the North of Scotland. Mary Campbell, a girl of saintly character, and an invalid, given up by her physicians, when praying with a sister and another female friend, suddenly began to speak in a strange tongue. On the other side of the Clyde lived a MacDonald family, noted for their piety. A daughter on a sick bed seemed one day to be enjoying supernatural influences, and was supposed to be dying, but when her brother James, a man of staid character, came home to dinner, she said she had been praying for the miraculous gift of the Spirit to him *at that time*. He walked to the window, and calmly said: "I have it now," and walking back to the bed, took his sister by the hand, saying: "Isay unto thee arise and walk." She obeyed, and was from that time cured. He at once wrote to Mary Campbell the same words, and without visiting her at all, the command was effectual, and the invalid, given over to die, was well from that hour.

When the facts were reported to Irving he did not doubt that the Spirit's return to the church had commenced, and began to pray and expect similar appearances among his own people. They soon came as expected, and came too to cheer him at a time of great despondency. The General Assembly, in 1831, by several of its measures caused him great grief. It condemned Mr. Campbell, of Row, whose cause he had espoused, for heresy; it revoked the ordination of Mr. Scott, his bosom friend; it remanded to the Presbytery the appeal of Mr. Maclean, who had been refused by that Presbytery presentation to a church, for heresy on the Incarnation, because he agreed with Mr. Irving. Mr. Irving himself, too, had been summoned for trial before the London Presbytery for the same heresy, but he had cut short the proceedings, by denying its jurisdiction, in which his own church unanimously supported him. And now the Assembly dealt him a blow, by authorizing any Presbytery within whose bounds he should come to preach, to institute inquiries into his orthodoxy.

At this crisis the so-called gifts of the Spirit began to

appear. Special morning meetings had been appointed to pray for them, and they came as desired. Irving said significantly to objectors: "Will you dishonor God by affirming that when his people ask for bread, He will give them a stone?" That one idea neutralized all possibility of calm investigation into their nature and origin. Members of the church began to speak with strange tongues, after some days of prophecy, and to work miraculous cures. Irving's heart overflowed with gladness. He believed the last days had come, and the Saviour in person was near at hand. But he was still cautious in keeping the gifts within proper bounds. He would not suffer the regular order of Sabbath service to be disturbed, nor even the stated devotional meetings of the week. But the prophets rebuked him for quenching the Spirit. Females, wrought into frenzy, cried out in the Sabbath services, and then rushed from the house because forbidden to speak. He yielded to such signs, and announced that the prophets must obey the will of the Spirit, and speak whenever bidden. The Regent Square Church became little better than a bedlam. Crowds flocked thither to witness the strange scenes, and his sermons were interrupted by utterances quite as senseless as the utterances of spiritual mediums in our day. It seems incredible that intelligent men could have been deluded into a belief of the Spirit's presence in such confusion, and in such frivolous messages. The following specimen is one of the best of them, from the ablest man among the inspired throng, Mr. Drummond, a member of Parliament, and gifted with a keen intellect:

"Ah! be ye warned! be ye warned! Ye have been warned. The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of your enemies. Ah! look you well to it! The city shall be builded—ah! every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load, each under his load, but see that ye build with one hand, and with a weapon in the other. Look to it, look to it, ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat; the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah, confederate, confederate, confederate with the Horonite. Ah! look ye to it, look ye to it."



Mr. Drummond would have been ashamed of such balderdash in his princely home at Albury, and it seems little less than impious to ascribe it to the Holy Spirit.

But Irving accepted all the manifestations as the direct agency of God, and now began the tragical part of his career. His trustees and elders were to a man opposed to these new developments, and would not consent to have the order of Divine service disturbed by them. They remonstrated with their pastor, still almost idolized, but in vain. They then carried the case to that London Presbytery whose authority a little before they had disowned, and gained a decision that the control of the house vested in the trustees, and Mr. Irving must vacate it. It was a hard stroke to leave the house built for him, harder yet to part from the brethren he loved. The family and kindred of his wife, connected with the church had no sympathy with the new revelations ; scarcely a Scotchman of all those who made this National Church their home, and had cherished a clanish pride in the fame of the pastor, clung to him in the present crisis. But he was not one to hesitate between duty to God and affection for brethren after the flesh ; and he went out from the church where he had ministered, with an unfaltering faith, like Abraham's, not knowing whither he went. Preaching was resumed in a hall occupied also by Tom Paine's disciples ; was continued to great crowds in the streets and outskirts of the city, until at last a more convenient home was found in a kind of chapel in Newman street, part of which served as a dwelling for his family.

A new affliction was added to his accumulated troubles. The Presbytery of Annan, by which he had been ordained, summoned him to answer to the charge of heresy, with a view to revoking his ordination. He replied with a burst of indignation against the General Assembly, saying he was able henceforth to make no relationship to it, "but that of open and avowed enmity." He answered, however to their call, and made a defence of wonderful ingenuity and eloquence, but to no effect. The Presbytery were unanimous for his deposition, and the Moderator was about to proceed to the solemn duty of revoking the ordination once conferred, having called on

the senior member to offer prayer, when a voice was heard ringing through the church : " Arise ! depart ! Arise ! depart ! Flee ye out, flee ye out of her ! Ye cannot pray ! How can ye pray ? How can ye pray to Christ, whom ye deny ? Ye cannot pray. Depart ! depart ! Flee ! flee ! " Great confusion followed, when the voice was found to proceed from Rev. Mr. Dow, a friend of Irving's, and a prophet under the new dispensation. He arose and left the house, and Mr. Irving followed, exclaiming with great vehemence : " Stand forth, stand forth ! What, will ye not obey the voice of the Holy Ghost ? As many as will obey the voice of the Holy Ghost, let them depart. " The doors closed on him, and his connection with the Church of Scotland, so long loved and honored, was henceforth at an end.

But the lowest abyss had not yet been reached. On his return to London, the prophets of the New Church, for whom he had made such sacrifices, and who were not worthy to loose his shoe latches, lifted up the hand against him. They professed to have received a direct revelation to depose him from his office as angel in the church, to forbid him the exercise of priestly functions, and to withhold authority for administering the sacraments, or even to preach in public. The heroic man who had withstood without fear the Presbyteries of London and Annan, and charged them with fighting against God, who had denounced the General Assembly for denying the love of the Father, the humanity of the Son, and the gifts of the Spirit, had no answer to make to these new petty tormentors. He bowed his head to the unlooked-for blow, and covered his face. For weeks he sat silent, while the unfledged prophets and preachers attempted their strange flights of oratory. Other tried friends forsook him, Mr. Campbell, whose views of the Atonement he had eloquently defended, would not accept the new dispensation. Alexander Scott, who had first induced him to look for the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, flatly denied that the Spirit had any share in the extraordinary doings at Newman St. ; Mr. Baxter, the most gifted among the inspired speakers with tongues, and a chief apostle in the new dispensation, recanted his faith, and declared the whole work a delusion of the devil.

But Irving faltered not, through good or evil report. Though parted from all old friends, and become a derision to the world, he held on his way with martyr courage. His work was nearly done. He was restored again to his place as angel and chief pastor in the church, subject, however, to the teachings and revelations of the prophets. For a few months he toiled on, like Samson in the prison-house of the Philistines, but the silver cord was loosening, and the golden bowl was soon to be broken. In the autumn of '34, he was sent by the prophets on a mission to Scotland. He was then a mere shadow of his former self, apparently on the border of the grave, and the physicians told him his only hope of life lay in a journey for rest to a milder clime. But he accepted the voice of the prophets as the voice of God. He had also adopted the notion that all sickness is the immediate fruit of sin, and curable by the new gifts of the Spirit; and as he had once been miraculously cured (as he supposed) of cholera, had no doubt of a similar cure in the present instance. He reached Glasgow, to preach occasionally to a few hearers in a Lyceum Hall, to walk through the streets, leaning on the arm of friends, exciting the pity of passing spectators, to sink exhausted on the bed he was never more to leave, though expressing the fullest confidence that God meant to raise him; to murmur, in delirium, the Hebrew measures of the xxiii Psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd;" to break out into glowing appeals, memorials of his former power; and at last to yield up the suffering spirit, with the utterance: "If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen" At midnight of the Sabbath, Dec. 7th, 1834, Edward Irving died, aged 42.

His life is to us a mystery hard to understand. A man, frank, ingenuous, sincere, devoted in friendship, with singular disinterestedness, he had the misfortune of parting before death with nearly all the friends with whom his life-work had united him. An orator, pronounced by De Quincey "by many degrees the most eloquent of our age," and by Canning "the most eloquent he had ever heard in or out of Parliament," he toiled arduously for many years without recognition in Scotland, and saw himself deserted at the last by all the



rich and titled, to whom he had once been an idol for worship. A Christian preacher, whose piety was of a seraphic type, whose labors were gigantic and unresting, and who seemed to have no other desire than to know his Lord's will and do it, he was left to fall into the wildest delusions, and to make utter shipwreck of his great powers, if not of his character. His submission to God seemed most child-like in his deepest humiliation. When miracles were wrought for the healing of Mary Campbell and Miss Fancourt, and many others, his own child was sick unto death, and though he wondered that Divine power did not interpose for her as for others, he never murmured that she was passed by. When the gifts of tongues and prophecy and healing came upon the humblest members of the church, and he longed with a burning zeal to become a possessor of the same, but was denied, he never doubted their genuineness, nor envied the superior privileges of his brethren, nor complained of his own hard fortune. And when forsaken by old friends, and abandoned by his church, and stigmatized by the General Assembly, and condemned by the London Presbytery, and deposed by the Annan Presbytery, and silenced by upstart prophets, he never thought for a moment of repining or wavering in duty to his Master, but went on with a cheerful courage to the bitter end. If ever an heroic martyr spirit ruled in a human frame, it was supreme in Edward Irving.

With such wonderful qualities as a man, a Christian and a preacher, how came his life to be one of the saddest tragedies of our century?

It was owing partly, no doubt, to the infirmities which genius is heir to, and one of his infirmities was his great impressibleness by inferior minds. It is almost incredible that he should have been led astray by men of such moderate capacity. Mr. Haltey Frere conversed with him, and he was inspired with an enthusiasm for prophetic study, and with a faith in the immediate second advent of Christ. A Dr. Wilkins unfolded a theory that nature has no tendency to disease, but rather the reverse; and that, were it not for our ignorance and perversity, we would come to our full age, and drop into

the grave as a shock of corn in its season; and it expanded in his mind into the belief that all sickness is the immediate fruit of sin. Mr. Campbell told him of his new views of the Atonement as effective for the race, and not through individual faith, and it became a part of his creed. Alexander Scott argued with him that the wonderful gifts of the Spirit ought to be in possession by the church in all times, and he began to look for a new Pentecost. He read Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, and was forthwith converted to a belief in the divine right of kings, and in the sacrilege of rebellion on the part of subjects. He went to a confirmation by the Bishop of Chester, and was so impressed by the service that he writes to his wife: "The more I look at the church of England, the more do I recognize the marks of a true apostolical church, and desire to see somewhat of the same ecclesiastical dignity transferred to the office-bearers of our church, which hath the same orders of bishops, priests, or presbyters, or elders, and deacons, whereof the last is clean gone, the second little better, and the first hath more of worldly propriety, or literary or intellectual character, than of episcopal authority and grave wisdom." This susceptibility to impression was a weakness in his nature, turning him into an intellectual chameleon to reflect the color of his associates, and making his fall inevitable in the companionship of such men as then attached themselves to him.

A second cause of failure, we think, was a neglect of broad and generous study, and a communion with kindred minds. His fiery nature needed the composing power of good books and intellectual society. He must have been familiar with the writings of the Fathers, and with the masters in English literature before coming to London, and his mind was then in its healthiest state. He had also been intimate, to that time, with men of promise in literary clubs, who held his eccentricities in check. But we find no trace in his letters or journals, after the splendid beginning of his career in London, either of generous study, or intellectual fellowship. His reading was almost wholly of a morbid kind, of works on prophecy, and the second advent. His associates, to a large degree, were

the poor people of his parish, to whom he was a faithful pastor, and men of one idea, like Frere, and Scott, and Campbell, and Henry Drummond. His active mind, no longer supplied with the nutritious aliment it needed, like the spider, spun its fancy webs from its own body, and ultimate exhaustion was inevitable.

His labors, too, were gigantic and incessant, knowing no leisure or rest. His vacations from the London parish were generally given to more exhausting work in writing, or translating, or daily preaching abroad. For twelve years his whole nature was strained to the highest tension, and it is not surprising that even his splendid physical health succumbed, and his mental soundness was impaired.

His failure stands as a beacon in the history of the church, warning all men that genius cannot supply the want of common sense, nor piety atone for the neglect of generous culture, nor burning zeal escape the penalty of violating constitutional laws. His associate at Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers, had a glorious career of success and honor, and left a whole nation mourners, who felt that he had given a new social and religious life to Scotland. Edward Irving, "who went to London with the noble purpose of making a demonstration for a higher style of Christianity," after flashing across the sky of the metropolis with a meteor glare, went down to his grave with the pity of his generation for a wasted life. His voluminous writings are little known; and the most familiar ones are called hard reading even by his admirers; and his influence is perpetuated only in a small community of Christians, having little evangelical life, and destined either to extinction or absorption in Romanism.



## ARTICLE IV.—WOLFF ON BAPTISM.

*Baptism, the Covenant, and the Family.* By REV. PHILIPPE WOLFF, late of Geneva, Switzerland. Translated freely from the French by the Author, with some additions. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1862.

We have "another Richmond in the field" of the well-fought controversy on the mode and subjects of Baptism. The formidable Goliath who now challenges our attention is from beyond the seas. Rev. Philippe Wolff descends from the mountains of Switzerland, to make an irruption on the Baptist fold: and if utter rout and havoc are not made of Baptist principles, it will be from no failure in the violence and malignity of the assault. The work is not, it seems, original in English. It was written primarily in French, in order to check the growing "favor which Baptist principles have of late met with among the Evangelical Christians" in France and Switzerland; and the author was so well pleased with his performance, and probably found its sweet temper and profound erudition so effectual in bringing to their senses those foreign Evangelical errorists, that he is disposed to try its virtue against the still more deep-seated and formidable heresy on this side of the water. We have given to the reading of it, in its Anglicized dress, as much time as our self-respect would allow, and we are bound to say that we do not conceive it, from its intrinsic merits, or even demerits, entitled to a moment's notice at our hands. A book displaying more pretentious ignorance and ingrained vulgarity we

scarcely remember to have met with. It is beneath indignation, and almost beneath contempt. But for the sacredness of the subject, we would commend it to our laughter-loving readers in place of the last comic Almanac. But it is printed; it is issued from a respectable publishing house; and it has had, we understand, a considerable circulation in some sections of the country. "A book's a book, although there's nothing in't," and the volume before us abundantly proves that a book *may* be a book with much less and worse than nothing in it. We devote to it, therefore, a brief notice, although reluctantly, as we cannot persuade ourselves to transfer to our own pages its accumulated scurrilities regarding the rite of Baptism.

The author seems, himself, to harbor a faint suspicion that his work does not strikingly exemplify the amenities of controversial literature. "The manner of the author,"—so he prefaces,—“will probably appear to some rather abrupt and sarcastic.” As to the ‘abruptness,’ we assure him that his work would have been the better for more of it, and for the results of his ‘sarcasm’ he need not be alarmed. The Baptist cause has a long lease of life if it encounters no more formidable weapon than the sarcasm of Mr. Philippe Wolff.

“He freely acknowledges that he has not made the futile attempt of conciliating Baptists by soft words and honeyed arguments: that, on the contrary, he has spoken out all his mind frankly, and sometimes reflected severely upon them as a whole.” Thoughtful, conscientious, self-sacrificing man! How hard it must have been to keep from casting his pearls before swine! How difficult to hold back the “soft words and honeyed arguments” which were just ready to burst from his loving heart, and assume the severity demanded by the insensate and impracticable temper of the people with whom he had to deal! How sore a trial to one so eager to dip his pen in honey, to find himself compelled to dip it in gall! Every day does not present instances of the heroism which can sacrifice Christian charity on the altar of sectarian controversy, and perhaps Mr. Wolff might have well inquired whether he was called upon for so large an offering, and whether, if respect for his opponents did not require him to

maintain truth and decency, it was not due at least to himself and to the sacred subject which he was handling.

"But while doing this (merely reflecting on Baptists as a whole), he has carefully abstained from all personalities." This was kind of him; and it will be a great comfort to every individual Baptist who may consult this book, to know that he is not likely to meet any personal aspersions upon himself, but that the author's abuse is generously restricted to the entire denomination.

"He knows that he can never obtain forgiveness for writing such a book, from that class of people to whom their peculiar views are like another Gospel, the truth of which is neither to be questioned nor investigated." Now, we can assure the author of this book that he may dismiss his apprehensions that the people whom he assails will be the hardest to please in this matter. If his friends can forgive him, those whom he accounts his enemies can abundantly afford to. Baptists can scarcely cherish ill will toward *such* an assailant. "O that mine enemy would write a book," is an exclamation dating back to a very remote antiquity, and if Baptists do not rejoice over this book, and more than forgive its author, it will be because they are more solicitous for the honor of our common Zion, and more anxious that its precincts should not be invaded by rude and unhallowed feet, than that an opponent of their cause should appear in an attitude of pitiable imbecility. Baptists, as such, we assure our amiable but self-denying censor, will forgive him. Whether Pedobaptists can, is a question for themselves to settle. Did we belong to that enlightened and noble body which (wrong as we deem it in an important point of Christian ritual) is filling our land and the world with the fruits of its fervid piety and holy enterprise, we could not read such a book as this without indignation and shame. It is a bad sign of our times that it could be published at all; it would be almost inexplicable if among pious and enlightened Pedobaptists it could obtain anything approaching to a decent circulation.

As to their "peculiar views" being to the Baptists "like another Gospel," we beg to correct the author. Their peculiar



views are not to them like another Gospel, but a very important, though of course not the most vital, part of the one original Gospel of Christ and his Apostles. It is the peculiar views of their opponents which, substituting in part a ritual for a spiritual Christianity, they deem to belong to another Gospel. And as to the question whether they hold that the truth of their views is to be neither 'questioned nor investigated,' the world will judge. Baptists have probably sense enough to know that their views *will* be investigated, whether they like it or not, and they have no consciousness with themselves of shrinking from the inquiry. If the Baptists covet anything, it is impartial and thorough investigation. If they have any ground of reliance for the progress of their sentiments, it is here. The prevailing *usage* of the Protestant world is against them; to that, therefore, they can make no hopeful appeal. Wealth, and power, and social position, throughout Christendom, preponderate overwhelmingly against them; these, therefore, cannot be their trust. But the prevailing *scholarship* of the Protestant world is, as it ever has been, little else than unanimously with them. To this, therefore, they can appeal with confidence; and all that they ask is, that the question be decided, not in the forum of traditional and prejudiced usage, but in that of scholarly inquiry. We appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober: from the *practices* of the great erudite lights and leaders of the Church, to their deliberate recorded judgments. We are perfectly willing that a jury of the most eminent Pedobaptist scholars should be summoned to try the case, and we readily abide, for we know in advance, their decision. When Rev. Philippe Wolff comes forward and declares immersion to be no baptism, and only an indecent and profane parody of a Christian institution, he is crossing the track, not merely of Baptist opinion, but of the collective scholarship of the world. He is running a reckless and headlong tilt against the great leaders of that host under whose banners he is himself enlisted. The truth is, as to the mode of New Testament baptism Baptists need not say one word. They can find ample refuge from any storm of argument or invective under the broad shields of the

leaders of the opposing ranks. The question has been settled for them; settled long since by the voice of Christendom; settled by the almost unanimous suffrages of men who would not allow even inconsistent individual practice to adulterate their testimony to the truth. The case has been decided, and if it is to be re-opened—to which the Baptists have not the slightest objection,—we submit that abilities of another order than those of Mr. Philippe Wolff will be demanded to secure a reversal of the decision.

Our author's initial chapter is on the two kinds of baptism, that of water, and that of the Spirit. We have no interest in dwelling upon it, further than to say that the author's reference of the baptism in Mark xvi., "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved," to the baptism of the Spirit, is an exposition in which he probably stands nearly alone, and always will. That the injunction of the Lord in Math. xxvi., "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost," has reference to water baptism, our author himself has not the hardihood to deny. No reasonable man can doubt that the corresponding passage in Mark has the same reference. Nor does this view place faith and baptism upon the same footing as conditions of salvation. Faith is the one indispensable and sufficient condition; baptism is naturally and properly connected with it as the established and invariable mode by which the new-born believer's allegiance to Christ was expressed. The substance and the symbol are here naturally associated, as they ever were in the subsequent procedure of the Apostles. The book of the Acts is a perpetual commentary on the language of the Commission, and shows how literally the Apostles understood, and how faithfully they carried out its injunction.

The author's second chapter is devoted to the Fathers of the Church. He does not like the Fathers, and one would suppose from the 'abrupt' way in which he deals with and abandons them, that he had not derived from the study of them much aid and comfort. "We renounce completely," he says, "the use of the Fathers, and we shall not invoke their testimony in support of our doctrines on baptism." "It is

only toward the commencement of the third century, that the testimony of the Fathers on controverted points in the practice of baptism, becomes clear and decisive. But it is then already too late to decide with certainty, through this means, what must have been the practice of the Apostles. A century and a half was more than sufficient to modify, considerably, both the doctrine and the practice of baptism, which already we find sadly mixed up with superstition and paganism." Still, it is from no fear as to the nature of patristic testimony, that the author declines resorting to it. "We are convinced, on the contrary, that the testimony of the Fathers on behalf of infant baptism would crush its adversaries, and that even those patristical extracts which are most prized by the Baptists, as favoring their doctrine, witness in reality against them when sifted and closely examined." Perhaps they do; and perhaps the practice of the Fathers had become as corrupt regarding the subjects of baptism as he himself assures us it had become regarding the mode. He tells us (p. 88) that the Fathers found their immersion in an imitation of the rites of Paganism, and who can assure us that their infant baptism came from any better source? We will simply say that, whatever the defects of the early Fathers, this complete repudiation of their testimony regarding this public rite of initiation into the Church, scarcely augurs favorably for our author's cause. In regard to the Fathers, Baptists treat them as they treat all the secondary authorities. They follow them so far as they followed Christ, and simply make use of them as helps in determining, or rather, perhaps, in demonstrating what was Apostolic usage. None can be more sensible than we of the early deterioration which took place in the spirit and doctrines of the Church. The undue magnifying of the efficacy of baptism led to the extension of the rite to infants and to the sick, and this again led to the occasional substitution of sprinkling for immersion. Yet the universal recognition by the Fathers of immersion as the baptism of the Church, is a fact which no sophistry can disguise, and no ingenuity can explain away. The attempt to father it upon the rites and usages of heathenism is worse than ludicrous;



it would be contemptible if it were not wicked. Patristic testimony and usage stand as the immediate and unmistakable commentary on the language of the New Testament, and our author does prudently in quitting the field without show of fight.

Leaving "with satisfaction the Fathers,"—evidently an impracticable set,—he comes to the question of immersion. "Two opinions are here in antagonism, one that the baptism of water in Apostolic times was an immersion, the other that it was an affusion or sprinkling. With scarcely an exception, the Baptists have decided for immersion. (!) The Greek Church sides with the Baptists, and at Moscow children are plunged in water. The Romish Church also indorses the Baptist practice. . . . All the Protestant Churches, with the exception of Baptists, practise sprinkling." What does the author mean by saying that the Romish Church indorses the Baptist practice? Does he mean to have his readers understand that the Romish Church generally practises immersion instead of sprinkling, and that thus the usage of the Greek and Romish Churches coincides with that of Baptists, as against that of all other Protestant sects? No other construction can be put upon his language, although the falsehood is too glaring to render it credible that he could have intended it. The Greek Church has tenaciously maintained its original rite of immersion. The Romish Church, like most Protestant sects, has long since abandoned its early usages, and joins them in "indorsing," indeed, immersion, but practising affusion.

The author admits that if immersion was the baptism of the New Testament, we are bound to adhere to it, and condemns the "many champions of Pedobaptism who, with Neander, coolly affirm that the Apostles invariably practised immersion, but their successors are perfectly justified in doing otherwise, and then proceed to offer some sort of an apology for having substituted sprinkling." He proceeds therefore to take the bull by the horns. "We intend to show that baptism by immersion is a modern fiction, borrowed from the heathen; that neither John the Baptist nor the Apostles practised

immersion; that it was unknown to them. We will even go further, at the risk of being stigmatized as rash by our friends, and we will assert that immersion is no baptism. We will not even stop until we have proved it to be an indecency, the parody of a Christian institution, if not even a blasphemy. We pledge ourselves to thus much."

A tolerably bold pledge. For the author thus to throw down the gauntlet, not only to his enemies, but to his friends; to challenge the whole Christian world to the encounter, requires either a good deal of learning, or a good deal of ignorance and presumption. If Rev. Philippe Wolff is not a man of extraordinary erudition and ability, then he is a man of extraordinary foolhardiness. It will be interesting to follow our new Light, and see how his pledges are redeemed.

"When," he proceeds, "the Reformers of blessed memory undertook to translate the Bible into the common vernacular, they were stopped by the Greek word *Baptizo*, which they did not know how to render. They were aware that this expression had more than one meaning, and that there was not any modern word, drawn from profane language, which corresponded exactly with it. Luther alone found an approach to it in the German *taufen*. The Reformers, it is true, and Calvin among others, inclined for immersion; but their respect for the Word of God was too great to permit them ever to make their particular views triumph through a translation affirming what the original text does not affirm."

Now, how does the author know that the "Reformers of blessed memory" did not know how to render the word *baptizo*? What right has he to make his ignorance the measure of their knowledge, and to libel them by imputing to them inability to render a word, than which none in the Greek language is easier to render? If the fact of a word's having "more than one meaning," or having no exact equivalent for all its shades of signification in any foreign language, is a reason for declining to translate it, then two-thirds of the words in the Greek Testament would remain in the obscurity of the original, for there are few of them whose uses are so few and definite as those of βαπτίζω. And where in the

writings of the Reformers does the author find the statement "that they did not know how to render" *baptizo*? Calvin, whom he expressly cites, was not among the doubters. He had no question as to the meaning of the word, and the mode of rendering it. He declares, in the most explicit terms, that it is perfectly well understood that βαπτίζω means immerse, and that immersion was the practice of the primitive Church.

But it seems from our author that some of the "Reformers of blessed memory," and Calvin among them, "inclined for immersion"—inclined for a practice which is no baptism, but only an indecent and blasphemous parody of a Christian ordinance! Can this be possible? Did these blessed Reformers really stand so far in knowledge, and taste, and discernment of what is decent and proper, below the Rev. Philippe Wolff? Did they get really down so near to the level of the Baptists?—in fact entirely to their level so far as their judgment and preference were concerned? And is it quite fair in the author to deal out such different measure to the two parties; to extol the "Reformers of blessed memory," who inclined in their deliberate judgments for immersion, and heap abuse on the Baptists, who simply carry out the convictions of the Reformers? But the Reformers, though inclined for immersion "had too much respect for the Word of God, to permit their particular views to triumph through a translation," &c. Now we suppose this 'inclination' has reference not to a personal preference for the rite of immersion, but to their conviction that immersion was the apostolic usage. We simply ask, then, if the Reformers' respect for the Word of God was too great to permit them to render it honestly, according to their conviction of its meaning? If a man translates the Scripture, we do not know how he can well avoid translating it according to his "particular views." Rev. Philippe Wolff differs from the Reformers in being utterly *dis*-inclined for immersion, and in holding it in abhorrence and contempt. When, therefore, he brings his brilliant talents and extraordinary erudition to the work of illuminating the world with a new version, will not his translation be in accordance with his "particular views?" If not, we should like to see *whose*



"particular views" his respect for the Word of God will lead him to put forth? Surely not those of Baptist immersers, nor of the Reformers whose Baptist inclinations made them nearly as bad! None, finally, can respect the Reformers more truly than we. But they were men, and still entangled in the prejudices and errors of humanity. And we cannot avoid the conviction that a more thorough and profound respect on their part for the Divine Word, that a more implicit surrender to it of personal preference and traditional usage, would have secured to our Protestant Zion greater purity of the Christian ordinances. Had they followed more completely their convictions, some of the unseemly patches of Romanism would not still deform the beautiful habiliments of the church.

But all is as yet preliminary. Our author finally opens his formal argument by the portentous declaration that "*to immerse means to drown.*" "After deciding to translate *baptizo*, the Baptists have been most unfortunate in the choice of a suitable word." They have chosen an "unpopular" word, not "understood by the common people," and which compels them "virtually to insist that John the Baptist and the Apostles drowned the believers in much water, while Jesus Christ would have drowned them in the Holy Ghost." This is unfortunate, and we know of but one alleviation of the calamity, viz: that, notwithstanding the word means to drown, yet the people who are immersed are not necessarily nor generally *drowned*. This is a great comfort, and gives a new significance to the old inquiry, "what's in a word?" 'Immerse' means to drown, it seems, but fortunately the word does not live up to its own signification. People who are drowned are *drowned*, we suppose: people who are immersed are always immersed, we know: and if things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another, then by every law of logic and the dictionary, people who are immersed ought to be inevitably drowned. But they are not. Thousands of people immerse themselves every day without being drowned. Every person who enters a river and plunges himself completely under, is immersed, but fortunately not of course drowned, our author's Lexicon to the contrary notwithstanding.

ing. Nay, those Pagans from whose immersing practices the Fathers caught the hint of immersion, did they drown themselves? The author has but to turn to p. 87 of his book and see how his own citation regarding the triple immersion in the Tiber (*ter mergetur*) refutes his foolish declaration. His own use of 'immersion' on every page shows that he himself does not believe that immerse means to drown.

He advances now to the argument from the classics. This would seem to be a point of some importance. The standing vernacular usage of a thousand years might justly be allowed some considerable weight in deciding the import of a word—especially one which represented a merely outward and material act, and therefore would be less affected by moral changes. How important our author deems it, may be judged from the fact that he dispatches it in about three pages of mostly irrelevant matter. He first edifies us with the meaning of "the Greek word *baptizo*, or as it is often met shorter, *bapto*." These, then, are one and the same word, the one a shorter form of the other! It seems not to have entered his head that they are two distinct, though of course related, words, and one with significations which the other never has. "Dictionaries attribute to this word no less than fifteen different meanings, the principal of which are immerse, wash, sprinkle, purify, and dye." Now any amount of error and folly may be propounded under cover of the vague term "Dictionaries." But no decent Dictionary gives to both these words, or to either of them, all the meanings which the author selects out of his fifteen. *Βάπτω* means to *dye*, which *βαπτίζω* never does. Both mean to immerse, to dip, and neither of them ever means to *sprinkle*, to *purify*, or properly, to *wash*. The difference between *immerse* and *sprinkle* in English, or between *immergo* and *spargo* in Latin, is not more strongly drawn than between *βαπτίζω* and *βαίνω* or *βαντίζω* in Greek.

The author indulges in *one* citation from the Greek classics. He quotes Homer's well known *ἐβάπτετο αἵματι λίμνη* as proof that the word (*βαπτίζω*, shorter *βάπτω*) does not mean immerse; and then concedes that it may mean here that the lake was partially *dyed* with the blood of the mouse which is pre-

cisely what it *does* mean—except the “partially.” In Homer the language is of course a humorous exaggeration.

“But there is more to say.” Ten or twelve lines then have not finished the argument, and annihilated the Baptist cause. “A close investigation of the Greek classics shows that Baptizô never has the meaning of immerse without implying also a permanent submersion, and not in the least a Baptist plunge. Like its Latin correlative, *immerge*, it means, sink under water and keep there, that is to say, drown.” Now it is reasonable that the author’s attainments in Greek should keep pace with his attainments in English Philology. The man who can drown every Englishman that was ever immersed, can probably execute a like feat for every Greek who was ever baptized. If he can hazard such statements in regard to a language which was vernacular to his readers, he will take equal liberties with a language of which most of them know little and he nothing. It is enough to meet his assertion simply with a flat denial. It is not true. The usage of the Greek Fathers, the usage of the New Testament, but accord with classical usage in making the word simply to denote immersion, without reference to the consequences. The very passage which the author cites in proof of his assertion, refutes it. It reads thus (Jos. Ant., xv: 33): “*Βαροῦντες αὖτε καὶ βαπτίζοντες ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ νηχόμενον οὐκ ἀνέχον, ἕως καὶ παντάπασιν ἀποπνίξαι. Pressing him down continually and immersing him (i. e. continuing to immerse him) while swimming, they did not desist until they had entirely suffocated him.*”

To any competent student of the original, it is entirely clear that the drowning or suffocation was not the necessary or natural result of a single submersion, but of repeated and continuous submersions, kept up until the victim was completely strangled. We do not suppose a Baptist would deny that a man might more easily be drowned while immersing himself in a pool, than while having a little water sprinkled upon him; nor would any sensible Pedobaptist assert that because drownings sometimes take place in consequence of immersion, therefore immersion means to drown.



But having "secured his position on classical ground," the author is little anxious to defend, or to keep it. He has only deigned this passing notice of classical usage to fulfil the amiable purpose of "answering a fool according to his folly." "For though it be proved a thousand times over that baptize meant to plunge, it would by no means follow with certainty that the word had precisely the same meaning in Scripture." Granted, and might it not be equally the case that though baptizing in the classics might invariably ensure drowning, New Testament immersion might be by no means necessarily attended with the same fatal consequences? But letting this pass, no Baptist pretends that because βαπτίζω means, as it always does substantially, immerse, in the Greek classics, it therefore *necessarily* follows that it has precisely the same meaning in the Greek Testament. But Baptists insist, with all scholars, that clearly established evidence of classical usage goes far to settle the Scriptural import, especially of a word denoting a mere external act; that a strong presumption is thereby created which throws a heavy burden of proof on those who challenge for it elsewhere another signification. And with the classical usage, which he cannot deny, and the Patristic usage, as he himself confesses, overwhelmingly against him, the author advances under no favorable auspices to the Scriptural discussion. No man with his eyes open can read Dr. Conant's elaborate, systematic and most scholarly array and classification of the usages of βαπτίζω in the Greek writers, without feeling as sure as he is of his own existence, that the radical idea of immersion lay at the bottom of all its various uses.

Our author comes to the Septuagint. He finds the word here four times, in all which cases he is perfectly clear that there was no immersion. Judith (xxi: 7) baptized herself by night at a fountain by the camp. "She was then purifying herself from uncleanness, according to the law of Moses, and it is known that the washing prescribed was not an immersion." With all deference to the author this is *not* known. We have no such knowledge in the matter as would lead us to refuse to the word its proper signification; nor do the cir-

cumstances of the case present the slightest difficulty in the way of so taking it. The fountain was one on which a city was mainly dependent for water, and that it should not be provided with conveniencies for those bathings and other ablutions so common in the East, is utterly improbable. Judith baptized herself *at* (not necessarily *in*) the fountain; it was night, and if she was not there for something more than mere sprinkling, why was she there at all, and in the night? And if it was for a washing, why does the author who makes heathen washings to be regularly immersions, judge differently of Jewish washings? The declaration of the writer that she immersed herself, sustains, and is sustained by, the probabilities of the case.

Our author next deals with Naaman, the Syrian. That Naaman "dipped himself in the Jordan," he concedes to be affirmed in the English version, and unluckily "the Hebrew seems to countenance it." But so much the worse, both for the version and the Hebrew. The prophet, he says, had only told Naaman to wash himself, and "by no means to dip." Naaman then of course obeyed the prophet, and washed himself, and did not dip, the translation, and the original, and the nature of the case to the contrary notwithstanding.

In Isaiah xxi: 4, the Septuagint has "fearfulness baptized me," "which means," says our author, "*overwhelmed* me, surely not dipped me." If "overwhelming" is not nearly akin to dipping, and but a slight figurative extension of it, then we do not know the force of language. The passage is clearly an instance of a natural and beautiful figurative application of the idea of immersion, identity in the outward mode being subordinated to that of the result.

"The evidence is still more decisive with regard to the analogous *bapto*. In Dan. iv: 23, the body of Nebuchadnezzar is said to have been baptized with the dew of heaven. We ask if baptism of dew is like unto a sprinkling or an immersion." We beg to answer the learned author that it may be either, according to the circumstances. A light dew would be more suggestive of sprinkling; heavy drenching dews much more resemble immersion. If we had simple reference to the mode

of descent, we should describe it as sprinkling; if to the effect, we might with higher beauty speak of it as an immersion, as, when Milton says that

"A cold heavy dew  
Dips me all o'er,"

no reader of taste is at loss as to the force and beauty of the expression. The sacred writer evidently meant to describe no mere affusion of Nebuchadnezzar. His body was drenched, was bathed in the dews of heaven. The expression follows that higher law of language by which words are chosen, according to their essential, rather than their mere outward and formal meaning. The law is too familiar to need elucidation.

Once more. "In Eccles. xxxiv: 25, a man defiled by the touch of a dead body, *baptizes* himself, according to the law of Moses. "This was certainly by sprinkling," says the author. Why? In Numb. xix: 30, we have the process. The unclean person is sprinkled with hyssop dipped in blood, then again on the seventh day; then the unclean must wash his clothes, and then finally bathe himself in water. The author's comment is amusing. "The hyssop is baptized (qu., how?), the unclean is sprinkled upon; the clothes alone are immersed (qu. drowned?), being dipped and held under water," and the final bathing, which the Talmudists inform us was by immersion, which it was intrinsically likely to be, and which was essential to give validity to all that preceded, goes for nothing! The author, then, has proved his point. He comes off from the Septuagint with flying colors. All is plain sailing. Naaman dipping himself seven times in the Jordan; Judith baptizing herself at night at a fountain in the camp; the prophet overwhelmed with, as it were immersed in, terror; Nebuchadnezzar bathed in the dews of heaven; all are indubitable proofs "that in the Septuagint *baptize* means not to immerse, but to sprinkle with water." Truly, the amiable author is easily satisfied. We respectfully submit that to ordinary understandings the evidence is nearly as strong as it could be against him. We follow him to the New Testament.

The author first lays down the law to the Baptists. They



"are bound to establish three points," of which the first is "that there is in the New Testament one well authenticated and indisputable case of baptism by immersion." We pass over the others at present, and frankly concede that, hard as the thing is to do, if Baptists cannot do it, if they cannot make out one well authenticated case of immersion in the New Testament, they may as well dissolve their organization. But whom are we to summon in evidence, and who is to decide the case? Greek classical usage for more than a thousand years testifying invariably that baptism is immersion; the Christian Fathers with their conceded rite of immersion; the "Reformers of blessed memory," many of them, as Calvin, inclined for, that is acknowledging, immersion; Church historians, Biblical commentators and Lexicographers, the general usage of the entire church, both Catholic and Protestant, both western and eastern, for many centuries? Shall these be the umpires in the controversy? Or shall we abandon them, and accept the Rev. P. Wolff as witness, judge and jury? If we do, we suspect we shall lose our cause. We doubt if the Baptists can make out one indisputable case of immersion in the New Testament to his satisfaction; certainly not that of Christ and his Apostles, for they were not drowned. But we will not be so hard on Mr. Wolff as he is on us. We will impose on him but one condition. Let him show one clearly established case of baptism by sprinkling in the New Testament, and we give in. How will he do it? Turn back to his curious list of meanings of that double-headed word βαπτίζω and βάπτω. Fifteen of them, among which are immerse, wash, sprinkle, purify, and dye! We presume that he arranged them as favorably to his case as he could, and that therefore immersion, notwithstanding its ugly suggestion of drowning, is really its first and principal meaning. Which is he going to select? Why not select the first one? Can he prove that in any given case immersion was impossible? If sprinkling was the usual rite, how happens it that that the words *παίω* *βαπτίζω* which in the classics, in the Septuagint, and in the New Testament, always mean sprinkle, are in no single instance applied to this rite?

Our author's first difficulty is with the "diverse baptisms" of Heb. ix: 10. He cannot conceive of divers immersions, i. e., of diverse modes of performing immersion. We suggest, to relieve his difficulty, that the "diverse" may not have reference to the mode, but to the objects and occasions. Various immersions *might* easily mean, not immersions performed in various ways (as by sprinkling, pouring, dipping, drowning), but immersions performed for a variety of causes, under a variety of circumstances, and on various objects. So, independently of the special signification of βαπτισμοί, the passage would be naturally understood, and *is* explained by the best commentators.

Rev. xix: 13: "He was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood." "The original," says the author, "reads *baptized*, but the Baptist version has not ventured to translate *immerse*, but *dyled* in blood." The original does *not* read *baptize*; it has βάπτω, which means to *dip* and to *dye*. Either rendering would be true to the import of the word, though the latter is here undoubtedly preferable. "The vesture of the warrior," the author sagely remarks, "could have been sprinkled in the battle with the blood of the enemy." Undoubtedly it could, and Nebuchadnezzar could have been "sprinkled" with the dews of Heaven; and if this had been what the sacred writers meant, they undoubtedly would have said so. But they meant no such thing, and have said no such thing. The author of the Revelation has not descended to the littleness of saying or conceiving that the vesture of the Messiah was *sprinkled* with the blood of his enemies. He represents the fierceness of the conflict, or the fearfulness of the carnage, by showing the vesture of the conquering hero dyed in the blood of his enemies.

"Finally, if baptism means invariably to immerse, it must be acknowledged that the Pharisees were decidedly the strongest Baptists that ever existed. Not content with immersing their pots and furniture, and their beds, they immersed themselves several times every day. For we read that when they come from the market, they eat not except they wash." But suppose that baptism does *not* mean inva-

riably to immerse, but to sprinkle, then what were the ecclesiastical relations of this exemplary body of ancient worthies? We really do not see but that they were the strongest Pedobaptists that ever existed. And as our author so holds, we see not how he can avoid the Pharisaical fraternization. Let him take back his self-originated sneer for just what he considers it worth. But, sticklers for outward ceremonies, slaves to a cumbersome ritual which they by their traditions made additionally cumbersome, the Pharisees did precisely what the author subsequently charges, lead a life of troublesome and painful observance. And the man who can find in their "aquatic life" and "watery ceremonies" occasion for holding up to ridicule the simple and solemn rite by which once for all the immersed disciple declares his allegiance to Christ, deserves to be deprived of the little spark of reason with which God has endowed him. But the sneer apart, the author tells us, with his usual accuracy, that "they immersed themselves several times a day." Now, how many times a day did they eat? Mark informs us they never ate without washing their hands, and that in one special case, viz: when they returned from the market, they did not eat till they had immersed themselves. The more elaborate purification would have been rarely with any more than once a day, and with the majority, perhaps, of a family, not once in many days. But, however often it was, the rigid superstition of the Pharisees shrunk not from the observance. The author may indulge in what sneers he pleases regarding the "aquatic life" of the Pharisees, "which must have considerably impaired the health of some and tired out the rest." If his weapon has any force, except against the Pharisees, it recoils on the Evangelist, whose statement he can hold up to ridicule if he pleases. There is no abler New Testament commentator than *Meyer*. He finds immersion both in the case of the persons returning from the market, and also in reference to the cups and pots, and brazen vessels and couches—not "beds," nor tables, but couches for reclining at table.

Of the "many waters" (πολλὰ ὕδατα) which constitute John's reason for selecting Enon as his place of baptizing, our author



remarks that the words "can mean nothing else than several springs." Of course, if they *can* mean nothing else, then the voice of the Redeemer in Revelation, which was as the sound of many waters, was as the sound of "several springs." The voice of the great multitude (xix: 7) was as the voice of "several springs," and as the voice of mighty thunderings; and the great whore, who was seated upon many waters, had her seat upon "several springs!"

Our author is in great distress about John's baptism. He sympathizes profoundly with the intolerable burden which the task of immersing all the people of Jerusalem and Judea, and the region around the Jordan, or even a sixth part of that number, imposed on the Baptist. We shall not follow him in his ridicule of the baptismal labors of the harbinger, in his estimate of the "768,000 pounds which he had to lift daily, while sunk up to his waist in water, and staggering in the current of the Jordan." As to the number whom John baptized, and the amount of his baptismal labors, we have no definite information, and we presume our author has as little. With his customary facility in blundering, he tells us that John "had already finished baptizing the people when he baptized Jesus," a statement not required by the language of Luke, and directly contradicted by John. At John i: 32, we suppose the author would admit that Jesus had already been baptized, but at John iii: 23, we find him still baptizing contemporaneously with the baptisms performed by Christ through his disciples. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that John's baptism, instead of being restricted to the six months assigned by our author to his ministry before the public appearance of Christ, continued a very considerable period after that, while in fact he probably discontinued his baptismal labors only when he was shut up in prison. During this time his labors were no doubt arduous. But that he found any serious difficulty in administering the rite of immersion to the multitudes who thronged to him, we have no reason for believing; nor, as Christ at this early day baptized through his disciples, are we certain that John may not, as suggested by Andrews and others, have been assisted by some of his disciples.

He is equally staggered by the baptisms of the Pentecost. The 3,000 "were all baptized the same day, and even in a few hours of that day." "Imagination," he adds, "draws back from the magnitude of the performance." Each of the Apostles having "a load of six hundred quintals of human flesh to lift in the space of a few hours." And adopting the Baptist hypothesis, that "the disciples of the little Church at Jerusalem aided the Apostles," the thing becomes "only more ridiculous, more incredible, and more unworthy of the Gospel. . . . Picture to yourself the whole Apostolate and the whole Church of Jerusalem, sunk all the afternoon in water up to the waist, and at times up to the neck, in order to grasp in their arms the bodies of three thousand men, to throw them back, immerse them, and place them upright again!"

We leave the Reverend libeller to his unseemly caricature of the first baptismal scene of the early Church. We have but two or three remarks to offer on the matter. First, it was no herculean task for the twelve Apostles to baptize three thousand converts within the compass of a few hours. The immersion of a person in the water is not, we believe, a fatiguing matter, and requires but a very little more *time* than sprinkling, if the latter ceremony be performed with decent deliberation. Secondly, many of those whom the Lord had chosen and empowered to baptize were very probably present to render all needed aid to the apostles, or even relieve them altogether. But, thirdly, and what is most to the point, the assumption that the actual baptism of the whole three thousand, or indeed of any part of them, took place on that very day, is utterly gratuitous. We are simply told in general, that on that day, as the result of Peter's discourse, with the accompanying descent of the Spirit, three thousand were added to the Church. They were essentially, and in every necessary import of the expression, added to the Church on that day, if they were converted on that day. Whether they were baptized on that day, or the next, or within a week, is, as to the substantial correctness of the narrative, wholly immaterial. Their baptism, whenever it occurred, and whatever its mode, took place,

we may be assured, entirely at the convenience and discretion of those who presided over the Church at Jerusalem. They did not hurry the baptism in deference to the author's favorite and foolish theory of "precipitation," and they neither hurried nor delayed it one hour in order either to create or avoid a single one of the petty quibbles with which shallow special pleading might, in after time, endeavor to throw obscurity or ridicule over the baptism of the Apostolic Church. The sacred writers might have been much more minute in their statements; but it probably never entered their minds that the time would come when it would be urged against the New Testament rite of immersion, that, in times and countries in which all forms of ablution were constant and universal, it was impossible or difficult to find means of immersing a few hundred or a few thousand men. Even error drivels when it resorts to such pretexts.

We accompany the author to the baptism of the Eunuch, "the great war-engine of the immersionists." Our author meets the emergency like a hero. He first clears away the rubbish accumulated over it by false "preconceived ideas." "Both Baptists and Pedobaptists, in reading this account, see Philip and the Eunuch standing upon the margin of a pool of water and preparing to walk down into it. But there is nothing of this in the text." Not one bit of it. "Where was the chariot when they stopped? Right over the water, ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ὕδωρ. To be correct the translation should not read, they came *unto*, but *over*, a certain water. The chariot was being driven through some pool of water, when they stopped in the very midst of it. The pool of course could not be deep, since they drove through it, and moreover it contained but 'a little water' τὴν ὕδωρ."

Now, ye Neophytes in Greek, read and understand. Ye who have ignorantly thought that ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ὕδωρ meant, 'they came to a certain water,' hang your heads in shame. Correctly translated, it means 'they came right over a certain water;' but no, 'a certain water' vanishes, and 'a little water' glides into its place. A little water—just how much Mr. Wolff has forgot to tell. The veteran philologist who informs us



that 'immerse' means to 'drown,' and that 'baptize' means to 'drown,' and that Naaman, the Syrian, did not dip himself in the Jordan, though the Hebrew Bible says he did; and that *πολλὰ ὕδατα* means 'several springs,' and that *βαπτίζω* and *βάπτω* are one word, with fifteen meanings, among which are *immerse, wash, sprinkle, purify, and dye*, now assures us that *ἦλθον ἐπὶ* means "they came over," and *ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν ὕδωρ* means "they came right over a little water!" The blindness of scholars never to have thought of this before! The good fortune of Rev. Philippe Wolff, to whom has been reserved the secret which, having been hidden from the wise and prudent, is revealed to a babe!

But the view thus established, resting on the clearest laws of the Greek language, and knocking the underpinning right out of the Baptist argument, the author, in an unaccountable freak of generosity, is disposed to throw away. We do not exactly see why. We hope it is from no misgivings as to the soundness of his exegesis. We can assure him that there is not a juster interpretation in his whole book. It is as unquestionable as it is that immerse and baptize mean to drown, and that *πολλὰ ὕδατα* cannot mean anything else than 'several springs.' No: grateful as we Baptists are to him for relinquishing his advantage, and giving us "the benefit of two descents and two ascents," we cannot be so ungenerous as to to avail ourselves of it. We insist that he stick to his exegesis. Having performed such a feat of scholarship, he must not be permitted to throw away its results. He must let no chivalrous generosity toward the Baptists deprive the world of this distinguished contribution to sacred philology. The Eunuch with Philip drove his "chariot right over a little water."

Leaving the chariot to rest a moment "right over a little water," the writer edifies us with his comments on the Greek Prepositions *εἰς, ἐκ, ἀπό*. His deductions are that "the most probable meaning would be that to perform baptism they walked to the water, and after, from it." We will not waste argument on such a point. Every schoolboy knows that the proper distinctive meanings of *ἐν* and *εἰς* are *in* and *into*, and of *ἐκ*

and ἀπό, *out of* and *from*. The deviations from these meanings are rare indeed, being almost always, as the result of difference of idiom, rather apparent than real. And especially how, in case the chariot stood right over the water, did they go down from the chariot *to* the water, or *into* it?

But the author, in his abundant generosity, concedes the prepositions, and granting that Philip and the Eunuch both went down into the water, he still asks, "Where do we see the immersion?" We will tell him where. "And they went down into the water, both Philip and the Eunuch, and *he immersed (baptized) him.*" Of the three several acts necessary to the performance of immersion, our author sees the first and the third, the going down into, and the coming up out of the water, "but as to the immersion itself, not a word of it." Indeed! It is visible to the naked eye,—right where it should be, between the two others,—in our copy of the Greek Testament. Has it disappeared from that of the eminent philologist who makes the voice of vast multitudes like the voice of 'several springs,' and drives the chariot of the Eunuch 'right over a little water?' But perhaps the author objects to our rendering of βαπτίζω, and not knowing how to "render the word" himself, thinks that nobody else does. Turn back, then, to his brilliant list of definitions, and tell us what Philip did to the Eunuch? Did he *dye* him? Did he *purify* him? Did he *sprinkle* him? Did he *wash* him? Or, did he *immerse* him?

We transcribe further, with a doubt whether we have a right so to degrade our pages, the following precious bit of logic. "They went down into the water and out of it. We shall still ask,—where is the promised immersion? They have gone down into the water. Very well; but how deep have they gone into it? That is the question. Did they bury and submerge themselves? Did they put the head under water? Decidedly not. The narrative affirms most decidedly the contrary, for it says that they, both the baptizer and the baptized, went down together, and alike into the water. It does not make the one go deeper than the other. But Philip was not immersed; neither, therefore, was the Eunuch. They both went down *into* the water, but not *under* the water."

The man who could write such drivel, is past reasoning or being reasoned with. To men of sense and candor, it will instantly occur that Baptists do not regard the going down into the water as constituting the immersion, but simply as such a preliminary act as would be likely to precede immersion, and would not be likely to precede sprinkling. And as it does not constitute immersion, so it does not absolutely prove it. It is among the numberless incidental circumstances and allusions of the New Testament, all of them in harmony with immersion, not one of them opposed to it, which, taken together, show indisputably that βαπτίζω has in the New Testament the same signification which it has in the Greek classics. That John baptized "*in* the river Jordan," not *at* it; that he baptized in Enon because there was much water there; that the baptism of Christians symbolizes in its different stages a burial and a resurrection; that the Israelites were baptized in the cloud and in the sea,—encompassed, immersed in the sea on each side and the cloud above; that the parties to the baptism went down into and came up out of the water; all these are in harmony with immersion, and some of them wholly inexplicable without it. Our main proof is the specific word used, whose meaning is attested and established from many different sources. John might have stood in the river Jordan and sprinkled. Philip might have descended with the Eunuch into the water, and sprinkled him. But they did not. We know that they did not from the word employed to express the action, a word whose meaning rests in no legitimate doubt. Had *παίνω* or *παντίζω* been employed, we should know that John sprinkled his disciples, though they stood in the centre of the Jordan. Had it been *χέω*, we should know that the act was one of pouring. Had it been *λούω*, we should have known that it was some form, and might be any form, of general ablution. With *βαπτίζω* we know, with precisely the same certainty, that the act was immersion. In the broad compass of the Greek language there is no other word that expresses simply this idea of immersion. There are words which mean to *sink*, to *plunge into the sea*, to *suffocate*, or to *drown*; but we defy any one to select from the whole range



of Greek literature any other word which expresses strictly and singly the idea of the English *immerse*. And that a language of such marvellous copiousness and precision should have had no word for so familiar an idea, is utterly incredible.

The scholars of Christendom, therefore, take the matter for granted. They dream neither of arguing nor questioning it, more than any other Greek word of established import. The usage of Classical Greek, the usage of the Septuagint, the usage of the New Testament, the usage of the Christian Fathers, the practice of the Greek Church, and the all but universal practice of all churches for many centuries, are all one way, and are decisive. The proof of the conquests of Julius Cæsar is not so ample as the proof that the apostolic rite of baptism was immersion. Ecclesiastical historians like Mosheim, Du Pin, Wall, Neander, Gieseler, Guericke; Biblical Commentators like Calvin, Beza, Bengel (substantially) Olshausen, Ebrard, Tholuck, Rückert, De Wette, Meyer, Stuart, Bloomfield, and Alford; eminent scholars and divines like Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Bingham, Bunsen, are unanimous and unhesitating in their testimony to immersion. They leave it to men of the calibre of Rev. P. Wolff, with neither knowledge, reputation, nor modesty, to stand in the way, to come forward and flippantly deny the rite, and pour out their aspersions on the men who practise it. We will make a few quotations.

Says Calvin (Inst. Lib. iv, cap. xv: 19): "Whether the subjects of baptism be wholly immersed, and that thrice or once, or only sprinkled with water poured upon them, is entirely indifferent; this should be left to the discretion of the churches, according to the diversity of climate: although the word *baptizo* itself signifies *immerse*, and it is unquestionable that immersion was the practice of the ancient church."

Says Prof. Stuart, after a most elaborate examination: "'It is,' says Augusti, 'a thing made out,' viz: the ancient practice of immersion. So, indeed, all the writers who have thoroughly investigated this subject, conclude. I know of no one usage of ancient times which seems to be more clearly and certainly made out."

Says Alford, of Proselyte Baptism, which in outward form resembles John's Baptism: "The baptism was administered in the day-time, by immersion of the whole person in water."

Says Dr. Stanley, of Oxford, in his "History of the Eastern Church:" "There can be no question that the original form of baptism—the very meaning of the word—was complete immersion in the deep baptismal waters; and that for at least four centuries any other form was either unknown or regarded, unless in the case of dangerous illness, as an exceptional, almost a monstrous, case. To this form the Eastern Church still rigidly adheres, and the most illustrious and venerable portion of it, that of the Byzantine Empire, absolutely repudiates and ignores any other mode of administration as essentially invalid. The Latin Church, on the other hand, doubtless in deference to the requirements of a northern climate, to the change of manners, to the convenience of custom, has wholly altered the mode, preferring, as it would fairly say, mercy to sacrifice, and (with the two exceptions of the Cathedral of Milan and the sect of the Baptists) a few drops of water are now the western substitute for the threefold plunge into the rushing rivers or the wide baptisteries of the East."

If, therefore, our author cannot see the "immersion," it is not because the immersion is not there, but because he lacks eyes. And in what terms shall we characterize his stupid assertion that the Christian Fathers borrowed immersion from an old heathen practice, for the sake of popularizing the ordinance? This folly is not, we believe, original with him: it has been perpetrated before. But we have to learn that any respectable man ever condescended either to make the allegation or to answer it. It is without one shred of evidence, or one particle of probability. It is a scandalous libel on the Fathers of the Church, made in the teeth of all evidence, and with a determination to sustain a falsehood at any expense. It is a sheer fabrication which deserves only to be mentioned that it may receive its just meed of contempt. It is amusing, however, that when the tables are turned and Baptist usages are to be identified with heathenism, the author turns his back on all his old principles of interpretation. *Mergo* and

*immerse* no longer mean to *drown*, and *λούω*, to *wash*, seems regularly to designate immersion. If washing was necessarily immersion in the Heathen ritual, why not in the Christian? If the heathen could immerse themselves, and that even triply in the waters of the Tiber, without drowning, why not Christ and his Apostles in the waters of the Jordan? And if immersion was so prevalent throughout those Pagan countries that the Christian Fathers borrowed it in order to popularize the rite, then all arguments against it in the New Testament, on the score of impracticability, inconvenience, etc., lose every particle even of any seeming force which they might have possessed. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive men in earnest when they urge against immersion as apostolic baptism, the difficulty of finding means for immersion—and that in regions where this form of bathing is known to have been a familiar custom. We are told of the improbability of the Jailor's being baptized by immersion in the prison. Now, perhaps there was a bathing establishment in the prison, perhaps there was one in his house, perhaps there was one at a fountain near by, perhaps they went half a mile to a convenient place. Perhaps the baptism took place in the prison, and perhaps it did not. The sacred historian might well take for granted that his readers would assume the possibility of immersion, without his specification of particulars. Granting that the baptisms were by immersion, all of these minor details would naturally be taken for granted and passed over: their absence therefore furnishes no presumption whatever against immersion. Scripture, both in the old Testament and the new, is constructed on the principle of giving cardinal and essential facts, and omitting to any great extent, subordinate details. In its far-reaching vistas of moral perspective, and in its higher purposes of spiritual teaching, the means, the accompaniments, the incidents of great events often sink entirely out of sight, and give scope to the petty cavils, and the hasty conclusions of the Colensos and the Wolffs.

In finishing what we have to say on the mode of baptism, we wish to add, that our present controversy is in no way with those who, like Calvin, Neander, Prof. Stuart, Dr. Woods, Dr.



Stanley, and the great mass of intelligent Pedobaptists, admit indeed that primitive baptism was generally or exclusively performed by immersion, but hold that the precise mode was an accident rather of the times and habits of the people among whom the rite was enjoined, and that, like some other primitive New Testament usages, it may be changed to accommodate itself to different climates and habits. We dissent indeed from this view, and believe it to be erroneous and dangerous in principle. Yet it is a matter of opinion, not of scholarship, and we can respect alike the intelligence, and the honesty of those who plant themselves on this foundation. We believe there is a symbolical significance in the rite of immersion, clearly referred to in the Scriptures, and which ought to make it sacred in the eyes of every true disciple of the Saviour. But our Pedobaptist brethren differ from us, and we cannot deny them the right to their different opinion. But to deny the historical fact of the nature of primitive baptism is another matter. It is a question of scholarship in which to be wrong argues either sheer ignorance or prejudice. The evidences for immersion are so absolutely overwhelming that no competent scholar would venture to stake his reputation upon its denial.

We have nearly exhausted our limits, and can follow the author but briefly in his extended discussion regarding the subjects of Baptism. But it is unnecessary. He exhibits the same sweet temper, candor and logical clearness which have marked the earlier parts of his book. His next feat is, however, a specially interesting one, and to many of his readers will be somewhat astounding. It may do for the longitude of Switzerland, but we doubt if it finds a cordial reception here. Having inflicted proper castigation upon the Baptists, he proceeds to take in hand his own denomination, and administers the rod to their short-comings.

And what does the reader guess is the delinquency which subjects them to the scourge of this imported Reformer? What—besides their weakness in not taking the high ground that immersion is no baptism, but an indecent and blasphemous parody of a Christian ordinance,—what other heresy has awakened Mr. Wolff's righteous indignation? It is that, actu-

ally, except in the case of infants, they *put faith before baptism!* Here, in one respect he grants, the Baptists have the advantage of them. They are in error indeed, but they are consistent in their error. They *always* require faith as a condition of baptism. While the Pedobaptists, requiring it in the case of adults, and dispensing with it (as they should) in the case of infants, are inconsistent as well as wrong. Baptists are wrong, but consistent. Pedobaptists are both wrong and inconsistent. The rule of the Apostles was one and unvarying, *baptism always before faith.* Baptism first and faith and instruction afterwards. Hence, as baptism was a means of grace, and not an expression of gracious affection, it follows by irresistible corollary, that the more persons could be baptized the better. All that the Apostles could get into the water—we beg the author's pardon, all that they could get under the influence of "a little water,"—was so much clear gain. The legitimate law of Apostolic baptism was haste and precipitation; just as soon as they could get the ear of a person, and his consent, no matter how reluctantly, or from what motives, without a moment's delay, they hurried him to the place of baptism, and gave him the necessary aspersion. No faith, no love to Jesus Christ, no allegiance to him, was required for admission to this great rite of the primitive Church. We have deemed it bad enough when we have been told of the practice of household baptisms, on the faith of the head. It has seemed a sufficient shock to our notions of a spiritual Christianity, that half a dozen or a dozen persons might all be admitted into the church without any faith of their own, under the shelter of the faith of the parents, or even of a single parent of the family. That a wife fresh from a sacrifice to Juno; that daughters who had just been rendering their vows to Venus; that sons whose hands were reeking with offerings to Mars; that servants who daily invoked Mercury, the patron God of thieves; that all these, on the strength of the faith of one or two genuine converts to Christianity, might pour a fresh tide of unrepented heathenism into the bosom of the infant Church, has seemed sufficiently revolting, so revolting that we confess we have not supposed that one in a thousand

of the professed believers in primitive household baptism really believed it. Yet our author takes a leap which leaves that doctrine all out of sight. Faith nowhere and in nobody, as the condition of baptism. Faith in fact rather repudiated, and the Apostles, hastening by hook or by crook, with the very first intimation of seriousness, to perform that ceremony which Paul designated as a symbolical "baptizing into the death" of Christ!

Our readers will, of course, not expect us to refute these absurd and impious notions, so directly at war with the whole tenor of the New Testament, so irreconcilably repugnant to the genius of a spiritual religion. It will be enough, perhaps, to cite two or three passages, that we may satisfy them that we are not misrepresenting the author, and may show them what elements are contained in this book, and what are the qualifications of this Genevan Wolff to take the pastorship of a Christian flock. "*Baptism always before faith.* This is our opinion, which happens to be neither Baptist nor Pedobaptist, but upon which alone we think that the practice of infant baptism can obtain a solid foundation."

He proceeds to show that John's baptism "was not a baptism of believers," its subjects giving only "an external assent to his preaching;" that Christ's baptism was the same, and of the baptism of the Pentecost he discourses as follows: "Over three thousand then most certainly received a baptism of calling, but not a baptism of faith and conversion. There is not in these three thousand baptisms the shadow of a trace of Baptist discipline. An hour before their baptism these were hardened hearts whom Peter reproaches with having crucified the Lord. Many are moved and listen with compunction to the severe preaching, and immediately, without examination, without delay, without individual confession, without personal acquaintance, the Apostles *hasten to baptize these assassins of Jesus Christ!* They baptize unknown men; they baptize all who present themselves, without refusal and without selection."

The italics and the exclamation mark are ours; the rest belongs to Mr. Wolff. We have no ambition to appropriate



it, and comment is unnecessary. We pass to the baptism of Lydia. "There is no evidence on her part of anything more than interest and attention paid to the things spoken by Paul; but this is quite sufficient; they hasten to baptize her, and not only her, but also all her household, which *appears either to have paid no attention, or not even to have listened at all.* In the text the household is intentionally left out, as to the report of change of heart, and attention to the preaching of Paul. Lydia alone experiences this. But her household is not left out in baptism; *willing or unwilling, interested or not, they are baptized with the head of the family.* There is no indication of Lydia having believed *so as to experience a change of heart*; the Lord only opens her heart so that she listens attentively to Paul. But this is enough; baptism is immediately imparted without delay, and before the meeting breaks up."

Again the italics are ours, though they might as well be omitted; for the italicized parts are of a piece with the whole. Similarly the writer deals with the baptism of the jailor and his family.

"Awakened in the middle of the night, they hear for the first time the Gospel spoken of. They feel moved, and at the instant, without waiting for daylight, without preparation, without a moment for reflection, without calling together a meeting of the brethren of the place, they are hurried to baptism. Now-a-days we would all tax such a baptism with shocking impropriety and culpable levity; but it seems evident that the Apostles must have entertained very different notions from ours, upon the inmost nature of baptism, and its peculiar usefulness to the receiver. It seems as if they thought it their duty to take advantage of the very first indication of a feeling of compunction in an unconverted listener, for hastening to confer upon him a baptism of water."

So of the "certain disciples," in Acts 19. "They were twelve. An hour before their baptism they still ignored the Gospel, and even the existence of the Holy Ghost, and yet they were baptized, all twelve together, and at once. Have they all been converted together, at the same minute? Have

they all twelve, and without a single exception, believed and experienced a change of heart, and all at the same instant, through some magical power in Paul? This absurdity must be admitted, or else it must be granted that these twelve were baptized without regard to faith, and before they had it."

The "baptism of the eunuch is a most precipitous baptism, without premeditation, or even a moment for reflection," and on the whole the rule is, that "there is in the Gospel no condition whatever attached to the reception of baptism. . . . People are urged to receive it as soon as they assent to the preaching, and great haste is evinced in bringing them to the ceremony. No discipline, no examination, no time of probation to make sure of faith, not even a question asked."

Having laid his foundation—a platform large enough, we think, to make a comfortable standing-place for infant baptism—the author proceeds to advocate it through a vast mass of matter through which we have no inclination to follow him. The Abrahamic covenant is ransacked anew, and its bearings on the case developed in his lucid and convincing manner. The household baptisms of the New Testament are again laid under contribution, and two or three new ones, we believe, added to the number. Of course, a man who finds baptism before faith the rule of the New Testament, and unreflecting precipitation the settled rule of the Apostles, will find no difficulty in the case here. The only wonder is, that there was *any* limitation to Apostolic baptism; that there was any family or any person in heathendom that escaped this all-encompassing net of baptism. Not to the author—for when disposed to argue seriously, we instinctively turn away from him—but to our candid and thoughtful readers we have a word or two to say on the subject of these household baptisms.

*First.* Can it really be credited by anybody who thinks of the true nature and significance of baptism, that household baptism was in reality the prevalent practice of the Apostolic Church? For two persons, or even one, who was converted, were half a dozen or a dozen *heathen* sealed with the distinguishing rite of Christianity? Were the worshippers of Jupiter and Juno, of Apollo and Diana, of Hercules and Venus,

of Osiris and Iris, of Ormuzd and Bel, without a change of heart, without a change of faith, without even a profession of trust in Christ, all entangled in the snares, all enveloped in the darkness, all running over with the pollutions of heathenism, were all these hurried to the baptismal fountain, on the sole faith of a parent or a master? Was the Church made to swarm with unconverted adults thus baptized upon a foreign and second-hand faith? And yet this must be held, or household baptism, and with it infant baptism as sustained by household baptism, falls to the ground.

*Secondly.* To build the doctrine of infant baptism upon the assumption of infants in the two or three households mentioned in the Acts, is surely making a large reliance on conjecture and probability. Let any of our readers run in thought over the families of their acquaintance, and we doubt if they will find in more than half of them those of that tender age that ranks them as infants. There may have been infants in any or in all of these households, but assuredly the possibility is not strong and broad enough for an argument of such magnitude.

But, *thirdly*, we have to say, that, in our estimation, it does not make to the argument the slightest difference whether there were infants in these households or not. We should be perfectly willing to concede, or to have it made out, that there were infants in all of them. It would not touch the case. If there were, they were not baptized. They were not baptized by virtue of the very nature and purpose of baptism. It was an accompaniment of faith, and marked the new-born believer's personal consecration and formal profession of allegiance to Christ. Infants were without the pale of the purpose of the ordinance. There is no need that the sacred historian formally except them, for they are excepted *by the nature of the case*. Men do not stop to make nice limitations in cases in which the common sense of every man makes the limitation for himself. If we were told by our friend that he entered a neighbor's house and found the family, or even all the family, seated at table, we should draw from his statement no nice inference that that family was not blessed with an infant. If it was, the infant



was not seated at the table. If he should tell us that all his neighbor's family played on the piano, we should not understand him thereby as meaning to enlighten us directly or indirectly as to the matter of there being an infant among its members. If there was, the infant, of course, did not play upon the piano. With *our* views of baptism, as a rite by which believers in Christ profess their attachment to the Saviour, the presence or absence of an infant in these households would be a matter of not the slightest importance. We add, that, even with different views from our own, it would matter little, unless we supposed the sacred narrator undertook to speak with the accuracy of a statistician.

Before parting with our author we had intended to cull from his book a few of its little proofs of controversial fidelity; some specimens of that charming frankness with which, while carefully abstaining "from all personality," the author "has spoken out all his mind, and sometimes reflected severely upon Baptists as a whole." We do not propose to adorn our pages with many of these little gems of christian fidelity. On the author's page they are at home and in keeping, and like apples of gold in pictures of silver, they "shine by situation" as well as by their intrinsic lustre. We will not rob him of what so rightfully belongs to him.

We might multiply citations like the following indefinitely; their spirit is on every page of the book. In the course of a long caricature of the rite of immersion, he says: "Then grasping him in his arms, *he throws him back violently*, sinks the body under water, and promptly raises it up again. The subject immersed is then panting for breath, sneezing, blinded by the water, and he staggers." Immersion "is but a burlesque, a miserable parody of the death of Jesus Christ, and that is all." (p. 47.) "Immersion is an indecency, and even a blasphemy." (p. 91.) "In the days of Jesus Christ a Baptist would not have been understood, and would have passed for a monomaniac." (p. 190.) "The mother" (the wife) of Moses "was what we call in modern times a rabid Baptist. She had lived among the Arabs, those Baptists of the desert," &c. (p. 221.) "Mormons are the only consistent Baptists, for

they not only immerse their followers upon a profession of faith, but on the same principle they practise polygamy, and do not observe the Christian Sabbath." (p. 265). "When triumphant, Anabaptism"—our author's synonym for the faith of the Baptists—"plunders, murders, sanctions polygamy, and revels in debauchery, until exterminated in a crusade undertaken in the name of public morality. To the timely appearance of the Baptist principle, three hundred years ago, does the Romish Church owe its present existence. Baptists may boast of having checked the progress of the Reformation, and consolidated the See of the Pope by throwing back into his conservative arms an indignant and affrighted world." "With what intense disgust would the Apostle Paul contemplate all that Baptist fanaticism, that zeal of proselytism, which impels them to rend asunder the Churches in order to build upon another man's foundation!" "The Baptist Babel with its schisms of schisms, should serve as a warning to Evangelical Christians." "The heaven of Baptists is a sad mansion."

We think this will do. Our readers will excuse us from further similar quotations, which might be made *ad aperturam libri*. There are charges of still more ribald coarseness, which we also willingly leave in their original abode. But our author scatters his aspersions only over our denomination as a whole; "he has carefully abstained from all personality." We are grateful that our task has been precisely the reverse. We have had to do, not with a collective body, but with an individual. We are thankful in the belief that the body, on the ark of whose cause he lays his impious hands, contains but few Mr. Philippe Wolffs. For that body, collectively, we cherish only affection and respect. We differ from them in a matter of Scripture rite, but the difference is not a vital one. It separates us from them in Church organization, but it interposes no barrier to our spiritual communion. We share with them the same Christian labors, we render allegiance to the same Lord, we anticipate the same heavenly blessedness. We say of their community in the same sense as we say of our own,

"There our best friends, our kindred dwell,  
There God, our Saviour reigns."

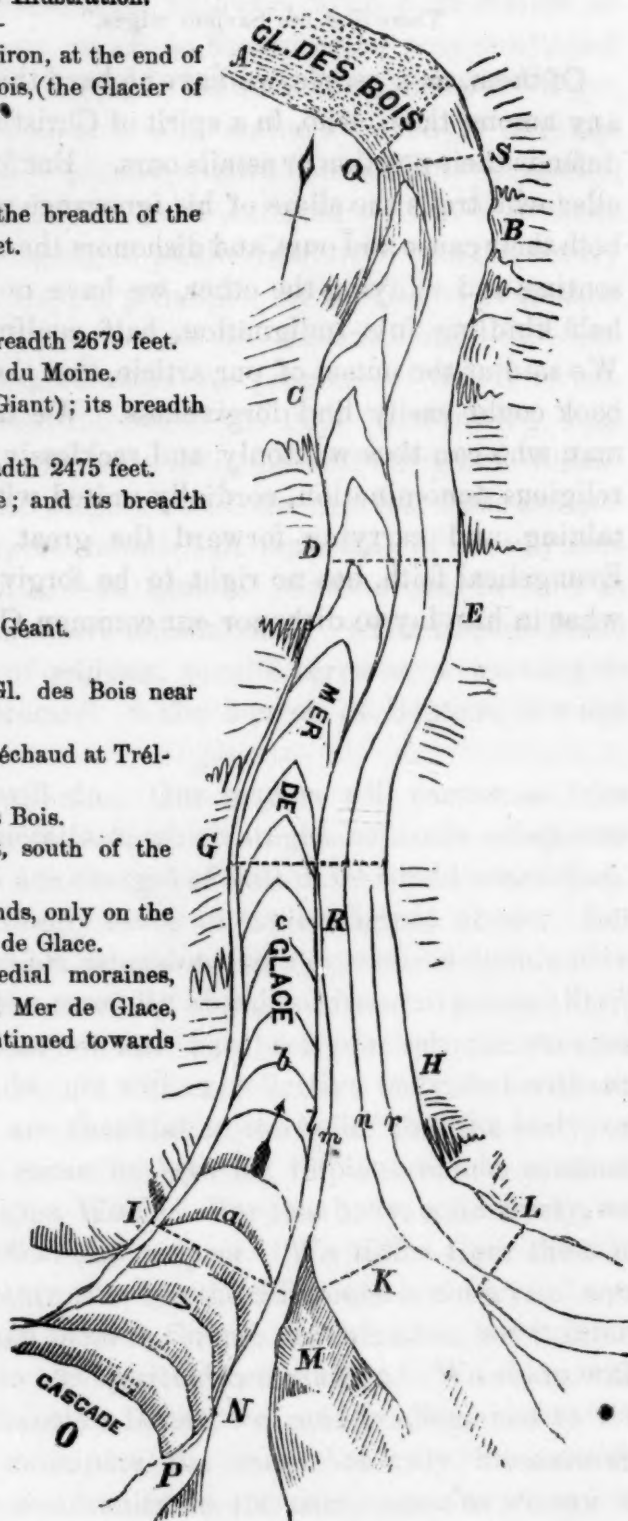
Of them, as a people, we have no hard things to utter, nor of any among them, who, in a spirit of Christian courtesy, either defends their position or assails ours. But for the pitiable driveller who trails the slime of his ignorance and ill temper over both their cause and ours, and dishonors the one while misrepresenting and vilifying the other, we have no feeling but pity, half kindling into indignation, half cooling into contempt. We said at the outset of our article, that the author of *such* a book could easily find forgiveness. We take it back. The man who can thus wantonly and recklessly malign an entire religious denomination, cordially united with his own in sustaining and carrying forward the great principles of our Evangelical faith, has no right to be forgiven. He has done what in him lay to dishonor our common Christianity.

K.



## Explanation of the Illustration.

- A.—Source of the Arveiron, at the end of the Glacier des Bois, (the Glacier of the Forest).  
 B.—The Chateau.  
 C.—Montanvert.  
 D.—Les Ponts, where the breadth of the Glacier is 2589 feet.  
 E.—Les Eschelles.  
 F.—L'Angle.  
 G.—Trélaporte; and breadth 2679 feet.  
 H.—Aiguille (Needle) du Moine.  
 I.—Glacier du Géant (Giant); its breadth 3402 feet.  
 K.—Gl. Léchaud; breadth 2475 feet.  
 L.—Cascade du Talèfre; and its breadth 1914 feet.  
 M.—Mont Tacul.  
 N.—Gl. des Perrières.  
 O.—Cascade of Gl. du Géant.  
 P.—Aiguille Noire.  
 Q.—Mean width of Gl. des Bois near 2500 feet.  
 R.—Width of Gl. de Léchaud at Trélaporte, 255 feet.  
 S.—Cascade of Gl. des Bois.  
 V.—Glacier du Géant, south of the Mer de Glace.  
 a, b, c, d, —Dirt Bands, only on the Gl. du Géant and Mer de Glace.  
 l, m, n, r,—Four medial moraines, east of du Géant and Mer de Glace, and all should be continued towards Gl. des Bois.



## ARTICLE V.—THE GLACIERS OF THE ALPS.

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[BY CHESTER DEWEY, D.D., LL.D., OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER.]

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*The Glaciers of the Alps: The Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers.*

By JOHN TYNDALL, F. R. S. Boston. 1860.

Suppose yourself standing upon one of the higher summits of that great cluster of mountains, the Alps. Take your position on Mt. Rosa, 15,208 feet above the ocean, in lat. 46 deg. 15 min. about, and long. 7 deg. 40 min. east; or on Mt. Cervin, 14,837 feet, ten miles west of the former; or on Mt. Blanc, 15,712 feet, lat. 45, deg. 50 min., and long. 7 deg. 20 min. east, nearly south of the east end of Lake Geneva, about 40 miles distant, and nearly as far south-east of the city, Geneva. On the last the eye is above all visible summits, and all the higher points of the Alps are in the field of view. The whole scene is one wide waste of interminable snow, except where the perpendicular ledges of the mountain sides darken the prospect. The same view is repeated on all the lower but still high mountains, only on a scale less grand and magnificent. On these snow falls in great quantity. This is the source from which the glaciers are chiefly supplied, and forms the immense fields, called the *névé*, or snow. At about 9000 feet this snowfield forms the line of perpetual congelation, or the *snow-line* on the Alps. On the Andes this line is about 15 or 16,000 feet, under or near the Equator; on the Himalayas, 18,000 feet above the sea—Himalaya meaning the “abode of frost or snow.” The name Mt. Blanc reveals to us the snow and ice; and even the name Alps may be only a slightly changed derivation from the Latin *albus*, white. The glacier of Grindenwald is named *Eis-meer*, Ice-Sea.

The word Glacier is from the French *glacier*, and this from the French *glace*, ice.

The Alps extend from Mt. Blanc north-eastwardly to the Tyrol, but higher in the southern part; presenting numerous high summits, between which the snows descend till they become the ice which forms the glaciers at the lower part, and of which it is said there are more than four hundred. Many of these glaciers are from 12 to 20 miles long, and some a mile or more broad. The glaciers extend below the line of perpetual congelation, and their termination is about 6,000 feet above the sea—some are less—nearly stationary, that is, the melting of the lower part is equal to the annual descent; some are becoming shorter; and two are stated to be extending downwards, and covering a valley once inhabited.

The direction of the glaciers depends upon the opening of the valleys, and may be towards any point of the compass. That of Chamouni, the *Mer de Glace*, descends northwards, others eastwards, and so on. As several valleys may descend in different directions so as to unite in one, so a glacier may be composed of several united. Thus Tyndall describes the union of five to form the great glacier which descends from the lower mountains on the north side of Mt. Blanc, like the several united streams to form one noble river. These united constitute the *Mer de Glace*, or Sea of Ice.

The inquiry has often been made, why those familiar with this glacier should call it a *Sea of Ice*, when the length and breadth made it much more resemble a river, or, if it were not for its palpable descent, an *arm of the sea*. From the naturally winding course of the valleys in which a glacier lies, a *river of ice* would be its pertinent designation. The surface of the glacier is not even and smooth, but far different. The following beautiful and adequate reason is given by an author who visited the *Mer de Glace* in 1814: "At first sight," says he, "this immense field of ice, about six miles long and one and a half wide, has the same appearance as if a tumultuous and highly agitated sea had been suddenly frozen." He then remarks, that the glacier is "intersected



with numerous chasms and ravines, some of which are 100 feet deep." Tyndall gives the same appearance of the glacier, as "of a sea, which, after it had been tossed by a storm, had sufficiently stiffened into rest. The ridges upon its surface accurately resemble waves in shape." For this he gives the following obvious solution. The deep fissures by rents have between them a ridge of ice, sharp and angular at first. As this glacier moves towards the north, the edges of the ridge towards the sun are "sculptured (melted) off," and "converted into slopes which represent the back of a wave, while the opposite (northern) side of the ridges" is protected from the sun's action, and remains steep like the "front of the wave."

It is obvious that difference in the direction, magnitude of rents and ridges, as well as width of the glacier, may make *Mer de Glace* worthy of being confined to the glacier of Chamouni alone.

This account prepares us to believe the description that follows from the first mentioned author: "The whole of this frozen sea is surrounded with bare and lofty summits. The black desolation which presented itself on every side; the dreary and unbroken silence which reigned around; and the sublimity and novelty with which every object was marked," made the whole most impressive and indescribable. He remarked also on the noise of the waters rushing below, the crashing noise of falling masses from the rocky sides of the mountains into chasms, and the loud explosions from the bursting of the ice in the formation of chasms and crevasses deep and large. Tyndall says, the crevasses have rarely been seen to form, though the explosions are common and often terrific; and in a known case it began with a mere long fracture not the tenth of an inch in width.

Yet it is obvious that the broken ridges, hollows or deep chasms, and projecting portions, which result from the descent and very unequal pressure of the parts of the glaciers, must present in a cross view the appearance of waves of the sea suddenly "stiffened into rest," though a less complete resemblance, doubtless, than that of the *Mer de Glace*.

As the glaciers lie in the valleys whose sides are mountain-

ous tracts and steep ledges, there must be a constant falling of rocks and stones, sand and gravel, from the action of atmospheric agencies. Many of these will be large masses of rock. "Thus the glacier," says Tyndall, "is incessantly loaded along its borders with the ruins of the mountains that limit it." It follows that "as the glacier moves downward, it carries with it the load deposited upon it. Long ridges of *débris* thus flank the glacier, and these ridges are called *lateral moraines*. By "*moraines*," then, is meant this *mass of rock, sand, &c.* — the *débris* deposited on the glacier. When two glaciers unite to form a larger glacier, "their adjacent lateral moraines are laid side by side at the place of confluence, thus constituting a ridge which runs along the middle of the trunk-glacier," and it is named '*a medial moraine*.' It is evident that *two* glaciers united will have *two* lateral and one medial moraine; that *three* glaciers joined in one, will have two lateral, and two medial moraines; and that *four* must have two lateral and three medial moraines, and so on. When the moraine of a glacier is deposited at the lower extremity," it is called "*a terminal moraine*."

If a glacier lessens in width, it may leave "its lateral moraines stranded on the flanks of the valleys." This has occurred, and "a succession of old lateral moraines is the consequence," as seen at the *Mer de Glace*. So, if the glacier "diminish in *length* at distant intervals, the result will be a "succession of more or less concentric terminal moraines," as shown on the Rhone Glacier, as well as at the *Mer de Glace*. (p. 264.)

If the observers are correct in their statements of mounds of rock and sand, now covered with earth, as terminal moraines, far lower down than found at present, as is commonly admitted, the Alps must have been far colder in earlier times than at present, so that the glaciers were far more extensive.

The large rocks that fall from the mountain sides upon a glacier often roll upon it a considerable distance from its edge or side. A mass of granite 24 feet high was measured among these blocks. By the side of such a mass Professor Agassiz pitched his tent for his summer observations on the

glaciers. Though the heat of summer melts the upper surface of the glacier, and thus removes it to the depth of five to eight feet, from different measures, the ice under these large masses of rocks does not melt away under them, so that these blocks stand up on their own pedestals of ice several feet. Professor Forbes set up his theodolite upon one of those rocks or tables, which was 23 feet long, 17 feet wide, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, and stood on a pedestal of thirteen feet. Of course they present a curious appearance, and become dangerous also from their tendency to fall over from melting faster on the south side, and crush a tent or a person near them.

The solution given for the formation of these pedestals is obvious and clear. If the rocks permitted the caloric from the sun to pass through them to the ice under them as readily as through the air, and also the warm air to have as ready access to them, the ice under them would be melted as much as the rest of the surface. The rocks are poor conductors of caloric, and *reflect* and *radiate* much of the received caloric into the air, and by *convection* also disperse still more.

In 1841, Escher de la Linth found the surface of the Aletsch glacier to melt away in five weeks, from July 8th, at least three feet. Also, Agassiz found in 1841 and 1842, that in a year the surface of the glacier of the Aar was melted less than ten feet.

The melting of the surface must extend far up the mountain valleys, and even to the very summit of Mont Blanc in summer. Rain storms also must increase the melting and augment the quantity of water which is percolating through the snow, and which also permeates the ice of the glaciers more or less continually.

This water descending from the névé and the field of ice supplies the stream which flows from the lower termination of the glacier, as the Arveiron from the Mer de Glace. Tyndall states that "in former times the whole volume of the Arveiron escaped from beneath the ice at the end of the glacier, forming a fine arch at its place of issue. This year (1857) a fraction only of the water thus found egress, the greater portion of it escaping laterally from the glacier at the summit of the



rocks called Les Motels . . . in a fine cascade." The vault was, however, considerable, the upper part of which fell with a crash, while he was deciding the propriety of entering and exploring it. The water issues of a dirty color, as it bears with it the fine dust into which the stone and earth are worn by the crushing power of the ice and stones moved upon them. The Rhone also issues from the end of the Aar glacier in a similar manner.

Tyndall describes the formation of the Mer de Glace, an abstract of which is very important here, as it is illustrative of the whole.

Beginning at the south, and far up in the mountains towards its source, you have the Glacier du Géant, forming the main and western part, having on its western border a small medial moraine from some tributary on the western side. Next east of du Géant, high up, lies the Glacier des Périades, bounded on the west by the medial moraine beginning at the mountain or Needle (*Noire*), and thus united to the first. Lower down, at the termination of Mont Tacul, the last is joined by the Glacier de Léchaud, and separated on the west by the medial moraine from Mont Tacul. Before the de Léchaud unites with the des Périades, it receives on the east the Glaciere du Talèfre, composed already of two others from the east, all which increase and form a part of the Mer de Glace below, and have their boundaries marked by the black and dirty limits of the several medial moraines. Of the relative magnitudes of the three principal glaciers forming the Grand Glacier, Tyndall says, "The Glacier du Géant fills more than half of the trunk valley, and the junction between it and its neighbors is plainly marked by the dirt on the surface of the latter. In fact four medial moraines are crowded together on the eastern side of the glacier. A distinct limit is thus formed between the clean Glacier du Géant, and the other dirty tributaries of the trunk stream."

The width of the Mer de Glace is variable, as the tortuous valley to which it conforms. At the Ponts, the width was found by Tyndall to be 2589 feet, only 51 feet less than half a mile. Opposite Trélaporte, higher up, the width was 2679 feet, or 39 feet over half a mile.

Just above the Tacul, where the three glaciers unite, the Glacier du Géant was 3402 feet in width; Glacier de Léchaud, just above its union with the Talèfre, was 2475 feet; and of the Talèfre was 1914 feet. The whole width of these three tributaries, just above their junction, was 7791 feet, or a mile and a half nearly, less only 129 feet indeed.

The width of the whole at Trélaporte was 2679 feet, and at the Ponts only 2589 feet, is scarcely one-third of the whole width of the three before union: a vast compression.

Before the union, the Glacier de Léchaud had the width of 2475 feet; but at Trélaporte it is compressed between the Géant on the west and the Talèfre on the east to a width of *only 255 feet*. The depth is doubtless much increased as the width is diminished; and as the Talèfre is found much less compressed at the same place, it is probable that the Talèfre is much deeper than the de Léchaud before their union. (pp. 286-7.)

The depth of a glacier is variable, from 50 to 150 feet, or perhaps much more, to a thousand feet. The du Géant, above the union just mentioned, has a wall of ice on its west side, near Mont Tacul, 140 feet in height. But the proofs of glacier action are found above the present surface of some glaciers, some hundred feet along the mountain side, showing much greater depth in former times. Indeed, Tyndall describes a "moulin," or "glacier chimney" (which is a passage for water to empty), on the "lower Grindenwald glacier," which he estimated to be 345 feet deep, but might be more or less, while it did not descend to the bottom of the glacier.

These "moulins" are found on all the great glaciers; on the Unteraar Glacier, on the Mer de Glace at Trélaporte, and other places. The "Grand Moulin," as it is called, at Trélaporte, was found by Tyndall to be 163 feet deep; an old one 90 feet; and another only 18 feet. Some of these seem to continue for years; yet not in the same place in respect to *the side*, for they move along with the glacier, as the Grand Moulin, which Tyndall found to move eighteen inches a day in August, 1857. Though Forbes says these "funnels" are "at the very same points," he must mean the *same points* in

the glacier, as he knew them to be, and not at the same point as to the side of the glacier, for he had proved the motion of the Mer de Glace.

Grass and other plants grow on the bare sides of the mountains, near the edge of the glaciers, and even wheat also so near the termination of that of Chamouni, that an American visitor of it told me that with one hand resting on the glacier he could snap a cent from the other to the flourishing wheat.

The first American that ascended Mont Blanc, it is believed, was Dr. Van Rensselaer, of the city of New York. This was about forty years ago. He stated that his party and the guides rested at night, in August, at the usual place or hut, and started at three in the morning on the snow so frozen as to bear them even to the top. They saw the sun rise and the wonders of their position. As the sun shone in a clear sky, the snow became so soft that in descending in the afternoon they sank a foot or more into it, to their great annoyance. His face was so burned and his eyes so inflamed by the constantly reflected and strong light and heat, that he was obliged to confine himself to a dark room for some days for the removal of the diseased action. Tyndall saw the same result in his party from the reflected light and heat in his ascent of Mont Blanc in 1857.

#### MOTION OF A GLACIER.

The motion of a glacier downwards has been mentioned. We come now to the facts. "Though a glacier is really composed of two portions, one above and the other below the snow line," says Tyndall, (269) "the term glacier is usually restricted to the latter, while the French word *névé* is applied to the former." Both the glacier and the *névé* move downwards, so that the waste of the lower part by the heat of summer is compensated by the downward motion. No record of the early observations of this motion is known, nor of the fact that "at its origin a glacier is snow,—and at its lower extremity it is ice." We know that the motion was attempted to be accounted for as early nearly as 1700, and abundantly spoken of for more than a century. Yet Tyndall gives the observa-



tions of Hugi as the first on the record. He had erected his cabin on the glacier of the Aar, and found that it moved downward from 1827 to 1830, just 330 feet; to 1836 about 2355 feet; and in 1841 Prof. Agassiz found the whole distance moved since 1827 to be 4712 feet—little more than 336 feet in a year.

The large masses of rocks on the glaciers must have long since been known to move downwards, and their progress from year to year would easily give an approximation to the descent of the glacier in a year. Professor Agassiz found the rock named the Hôtel des Neufchâtelois had moved 486 feet in September, 1842, for the last two years, or 243 feet a year. As the boulders might have rolled and thus moved faster than the ice, and were not so manageable, another method was adopted.

More accurate measurements were necessary, which would show variations of velocity in different parts of a glacier. This was first effected by Prof. Agassiz. Having bored ten feet holes into the ice in a straight line across, he placed six piles, three on the Finsteraar glacier, and three on the Lauteraar branch, in 1841; and on July 20th, 1842, he found that in ten months the piles on the Finsteraar had moved as follows: that nearest the side 160 feet, the next 225 feet, and that nearest the centre, 269 feet; and those on the Lauteraar moved, that nearest the side 125 feet, the next 210 feet, that nearest the centre 246 feet. The experiment proved the slower motion of the sides, and the swifter motion towards the centre, owing, no doubt, to the greater resistance of the sides. The result was very interesting and highly satisfactory.

The data and results of this experiment were sent by Agassiz to Arago in a letter dated Aug. 1st, 1842, and published by the Academy of Sciences, Aug. 29th, 1842. Professor Forbes, being at the *Mer de Glace* for a similar experiment, announced to Prof. Jameson, editor of the "*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*," by letter of July 4th, 1842, the general result; but it was not published till October, a month later than the publication of Prof. Agassiz's statement. It should be known, too, that the experiment of Agassiz began the year

before that of Forbes. Tyndall attributes, with apparent propriety, the chief honor of the discovery to Professor Agassiz. This statement is made here for the purpose of rendering the honor to whom it is due. The following experiments show still more important discoveries and results by Agassiz, which the world should know he first ascertained, and which seem acknowledged and published by Tyndall.

In 1842 a second line of piles was erected like the others, at a point lower down. The results are given for four years, 1842 to 1846. As the middle part moved faster, the line changed to a curved line, convex downwards, and became more convex from year to year. The motion downwards was shown to be *less in the lower part* of the glacier, and the point of greatest velocity changed from side to side of the middle,\* always being greater towards the convex side of the sinuosity of the valley, as afterwards stated by Tyndall.

This Agassiz confirmed also by the carefully measured velocity of large blocks of stone on or near the line of greatest motion.

In 1842 Prof. Forbes showed by his observations on the *Mer de Glace*, that its velocity is *greater in the lower than in the upper part*, contrary to the motion shown by Agassiz on the Aar glacier.

Other experiments to test the motion of glaciers in three particulars became important. The *first* was to determine the influence of the tortuosity of the valleys upon the motion of the glaciers. This was settled by Tyndall in 1857. He crossed the *Mer de Glace* with five lines of stakes, beginning below Montanvert and extending far up the glacier. These, in moving downwards showed their peculiarities. The number of stakes in the five crossings was 10, 12, 20, 17, and 15. The general reader will like to see the statement of the experiment, at least in the first line, showing the daily motion. The number of the stakes is from the west side towards the east.

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\* "Migrations of the Centre" by Agassiz, as quoted by Tyndall, p. 310.

<i>No. of Stake.</i>		<i>No. of Stake.</i>	
West, 1 moved	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.	6 moved	----
2 "	16 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	7 "	26 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches
3 "	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	8 "	----
4 "	----	9 "	28 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
5 "	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	10 "	31 $\frac{1}{2}$ " East.

The motion increased from the first to the last stake, that is, from the west to the east side. The 7th stake was on the middle. The measures of the 4th, 6th, and 8th, were lost; but the motion of the east stake was greater than even the middle part. [See the figure.]

The second line was placed some farther up the glacier, having twenty stakes, and gave the same general result, viz: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches on the west side, 21 inches in the middle, and 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches at the east stake.

No retardation at the east side is shown by these two lines, because the stakes were not extended quite to the east side, on account of the crevasses and broken ice-ridges intercepting the view.

The third line was so placed as to give the whole view across, the stakes being twelve; the west stake gave 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the east stake 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, while greatest motion was 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, at a point much nearer the east side than the middle. This established the retardation at both sides, as well as the greater motion at the east of the middle in each of these three lines.

To account for this result, Tyndall saw that the ice followed the law of motion in rivers at sinuosities. It is well known that at a bend in rivers the velocity of the convex side of the bend or towards it is much greater than on the concave side. He saw that at these three lines the convex side of the bend was on the east side.

This was confirmed by the fourth line, higher up, at the first of the three Ponts, where the convex side of the bend was on the west side. Seventeen stakes were placed. The west stake gave motion of 15 inches, and the east one of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, but the point of greatest motion, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, was west of the middle and much nearer the west side. As the sinuosity is changed to the opposite side, the place of greatest motion is also changed.



Comparing the third and fourth lines, we see that the east stake of the *third* "moved with more than twice the velocity of the most westerly one;" and that in the *fourth* the west stake "moved with more than twice the velocity of the most easterly one."

By examination of the pairs of stakes equally distant from the central one, Tyndall shows that "*the entire western half of the Mer de Glace*" at the Ponts, "*moves more quickly than the eastern half of the glacier.*"

The fifth line was established farther up, where the curvature, opposite to Trélaporte, is the other way from that at the fourth. Here the glacier was 2,679 feet in width, and at the Ponts was 2,589 feet, and the motion a little less. At the west stake the motion was 11½ inches, and at the east was 10 inches, and the greatest was 19½ inches, considerably east of the middle of the glacier, and the "*eastern half of the Mer de Glace,*" at Trélaporte, "*moves more quickly than the western half.*" This accords with the results at the first three lines. "The analogy between a river and a glacier moving through a sinuous valley is therefore complete." This conclusion seems inevitable, and is a great addition to our previous knowledge of the glacial movements. (pp. 275-285.)

It is obvious, as stated by Tyndall, that the line of *greatest* velocity of the glacier must be sinuous in its course, and lie sometimes on one side of the central line, and sometimes on the other. "At the Montanvert and Trélaporte, it would be on the east of the central line, while at the Ponts, between these two, it would lie on the west of the centre. Thus Tyndall confirmed the announcement by Professor Agassiz. The sinuous line of greatest velocity from one side of the central line to the other, is plain.

As already given, the width of the three principal glaciers, just before their union, is 7,791 feet, and after their union the whole is forced at Trélaporte to become a glacier only 2,679 feet in width. There must be great compression, or great increase in depth, or both; the velocity being 20 inches a

day.\* The Glacier de Léchaud was 2475 feet in breadth before the junction, but after it the width is only 255 feet, as it is compressed at Trélaporte between the Talèfre and the Géant glaciers. Admitting that Léchaud might be a shallow glacier, compared with the others, we have new reasons for the varying velocity of glaciers.

The *second* object was to determine the velocity at different depths of the glacier, or at top and bottom. In 1846 Professor Forbes found that stakes at 8, 54, and 143 feet above the bottom, moved severally in five days, 2.87 feet, 4.18 feet, and 4.66 feet. Also Tyndall found in 1857, that a stake placed four feet from the bottom of the glacier, the second at 35 feet, and the third at the top, or 140½ feet, near the Tacul, moved, at the top 6 inches, at 35 feet moved 4½ inches, and at bottom 2½ inches. Here, as in a river, the top moved much faster than the middle, and much more rapidly than at the bottom. Another observation gave the motion at top double that at the bottom; which he considered not quite reliable. These several observations show that *the river of ice* obeys the law of the *river of water*, in having its velocity increasing from the bottom to the top.

The third object was the motion of the ice in winter. This was effected by Tyndall, Dec. 28th and 29th, 1859, as any previous observations seemed not to be trustworthy. A period of very cold weather had preceded this date. Two lines of stakes were placed across the *Mer de Glace*, the first being 240 feet above the Montanvert Hotel, and the second 390 feet below it. Let the reader examine the measures:

<i>No. of Stake.</i>		<i>No. of Stake.</i>	
West, 1	7½ inches.	7	15¾ inches.
2	11 "	8	15¾ "
3	13½ "	9	12¼ "
4	13 "	10	12 "
5	13¾ "	11	6½ " East.
6 middle one, 14¾ inches.			

\* The greatest velocity of the Glacier du Géant before the junction with de Léchaud, was 13 inches daily; and of de Léchaud, was 9½ inches daily; after their union with the Talèfre, the greatest velocity was 20 inches; a great increase of velocity made necessary by the narrower passage of Trélaporte.

Here the *greatest* is  $15\frac{1}{4}$  inches, but in summer about 30 inches. The velocity is greater in both summer and winter at the east of the middle at this place.

The second line sustained these results. The greatest velocity at the second exceeded that of the first, as it does in summer at that part of the glacier.

These observations disprove the common opinion, then, that the glacier is frozen in winter, and motionless. If it is said that the glacier may be frozen in January or in February, though not in December, the reply is that the water flows from the lowest part of it through the year, though less in winter than in summer, and that water must prevent its being frozen to the earth. Indeed, as Agassiz had found the temperature of the glacier, even in its depths, was 32 degrees, or at the melting point of ice, and as water flows from it through the year, probably the heat of the glacier in its depths is little below 32 degrees, so that it is not frozen to the earth at any time.

So far we have detailed the discoveries of prominent glacierists, that we might be able to attribute to each one his own discoveries. This has been summed up by Tyndall in the following fair statement: "The *idea* of semi-fluid motion belongs entirely to Rendu; the *proof* of the quicker central flow belongs in part to Rendu, but almost wholly to Agassiz and Forbes; the *proof of the retardation* of the bed belongs to Forbes alone, while the discovery of the locus of the point of maximum motion belongs, I suppose, to me." (p. 310.) As Tyndall admits the "Migrations of the Centre" by Professor Agassiz, he attributes to himself, not merely the locus of the "Migrations of the Centre," but the cause of the sinuous locus of maximum motion. This was a great and very important discovery. But it was not alluded to by any previous author, except Rendu, and by him in terms like a fortunate guess, which became a fixed fact and truth by the investigation of Tyndall.

#### CREVASSES, FRACTURES AND CHASMS.

As Forbes and Tyndall have both proved that the motion



is greater at the surface, and decreases rapidly at the lowest fourth of the glacier, it is, to our minds, evident that the *parts of glaciers move on themselves, or on their different strata*, as well as the whole glacier on its base.

When this motion becomes too great for the strata above to follow, as on the sudden increase of inclination, fractures occur, and chasms or "*transverse crevasses*," are formed, of widths and depths depending on obvious and varying conditions. These are prominent at the icy cascades.

Besides these "*transverse crevasses*," there are others. The most common are the "*oblique crevasses*." They are formed in the following manner. Let there be two points, one near the edge of the glacier, and the other fifty or one hundred feet from it, in a right line across the ice. As the one near the bank moves the slower, it will soon be farther distant from the other, and the line of ice between will be strained, and will ultimately break at right angles to its direction. At least the greatest strain will take place when the second object has moved forwards a distance equal to their separation at first. Then their distance apart will be the diagonal of a square, of which the first distance between the two is the side, and then the line between the two objects will make half a right angle with the side. If the strain is great enough, a fracture is made, and a crevasse begins, whose direction is obliquely upwards or towards their source, as well as towards the side. The appearance is, that the crevasse results from the more rapid motion of the side, thus leaving a part behind, and so was it long understood; but actual measurements show it results from the slower motion of the glacier at its side. Hence these crevasses occur where, from obstacles or sinuosities, the side-motion differs most from that of the ice towards the middle of the glacier.

It is easy, too, to see that the motion of the glacier shall be so affected that the strain shall be from the middle towards the side, and a *longitudinal crevasse* be produced, which is not an uncommon result.

Tyndall has finely illustrated the character of crevasses. The section is enriched with the speculations of Mr. Hopkins, and will richly repay the reader. (Tyndall, pp. 315-327.)

## DIRT-BANDS OF THE MER DE GLACE.

The Dirt-Bands were first noticed by Prof. Forbes, in 1842. They are seen only on the western part of the glacier, and have their origin in the "grand ice-cascade which descends in a succession of precipices from the plateau of the Col du Géant into the valley which the Glacier du Géant fills." They lie across the upper portion of the glacier, in curved bands, convex downwards, and, from the increased velocity of the middle portion of the ice, become more convex, till they have the form of rather acute hyperbolic curves. Prof. Forbes counted *eighteen* from Trélaporte down to the Glacier des Bois, where they terminate, appearing, as he says, like a "succession of waves several hundred feet apart." Professor Tyndall observed them "fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years later," and counted *eighteen*, though nearly all of these "must have been the *successors* of those observed by Professor Forbes." Contrary to statements of several writers, Tyndall assures us that these bands do not extend across even the first of the four medial moraines on the east of the Glacier du Géant. Such is the representation on the figure. The cause of these bands Tyndall gives as follows: "The transverse breaking of the glacier on the cascade, and the gradual accumulation of the dirt in the hollows between the ridges; the subsequent toning down of the ridges to gentle protuberances which sweep across the glacier; and the collection of dirt upon the slopes and at the bases of these protuberances." (p. 375.) While it is obvious "that the bands must be due to some regularly recurrent cause," it was not known to Tyndall how often this "transverse fracture" occurs. Enough is known to assure us of the constant and regular action of the powers that move and break and unite the glaciers. The same plastic property must be active from the névé above to the gushing stream below of the Arveiron.

## CAUSE OF THE MOTION OF GLACIERS.

This has been the great problem for solution in this department of nature. Several solutions have been published, sim-

ply because the facts had not been ascertained. Most important facts have since become known. For such a physical phenomenon there must be some physical cause or causes, both true and adequate. This cause, or these causes, must apply to the whole subject. Not only the glaciers, or rivers of ice, move downwards, but the mingled ice and snow next above the glacier, and the mere snow itself still higher up; in a word, the whole *névé* is descending from its extensive valleys to supply the moving and wasting glacier below. Let us follow Tyndall in his account of the solutions given.

1. The first, because one hundred and fifty years old, is the "Dilatation Theory." It is, that the congelation of water in the glacier by expanding into ice produces the adequate moving force. This was so finely illustrated by M. de Charpentier, as to be called his theory, though more than one hundred years after it had been announced by Scheuchzer. Adopted at first by Prof. Agassiz, he also first proved it false by finding the depths of the glacier to be at 32 deg. Fah., where the motion was greatest in summer, and that cause did not then exist. And when the freezing should be constant and most powerful, as in winter, and the force greater, the motion is least. This solution is abandoned.

2. In 1760, or a hundred years ago, Altman and Grüner advanced the notion that the "glacier slid along its bed." This is the "Sliding Theory," approved and illustrated by De Saussure in 1799. He says: "It is this slow but continual sliding of the ice on its inclined base which carries it into the lower valleys." Prof. Forbes and others have denied the "smallest flexibility or plasticity" to the theory sustained by De Saussure, in direct opposition to the language of De Saussure in his account of the glacier of Mont Dolent, viz: "Its most elevated plateau is a great circus surrounded by high cliffs of granite, of pyramidal forms; thence the glacier descends through a gorge, in which *it is narrowed*; but after having passed the gorge, *it enlarges again*, spreading out like a fan. Thus it has on the whole the form of a sheaf tied in the middle, and dilated at its two extremities." Surely this necessarily involves a great degree of *plasticity*, in the view



of De Saussure, and is in perfect consistency with the language of another distinguished writer on the same glacier, M. Rendu: "Nothing shows better the extent to which a glacier moulds itself to its locality;" and he adds, a glacier possesses a "kind of *ductility* which permits it to mould itself to the locality it occupies." De Saussure saw the full display of the flexibility of the mass of ice in the glaciers, even more marked perhaps at the Mont Dolent glacier, than that of the Mer de Glace "in its passage through the neck of the valley at Tréla-porte," so clearly and fully stated by Tyndall. The glacier moves downwards; its motion is *sliding*; *not rolling, not jumping or running*, but *sliding* on itself and its bed. Its grinding, grooving, polishing, or smoothing the sand and rocks of its bed, shows its *sliding or motion* there.

As the whole glacier moves on its base as well as on its various parts, and moves the most rapidly in summer when the water is most abundant in it, and more slowly in winter when the water is far less, might not Tyndall have said, in the examination, that if Saussure had more fully seen the power of the permeating water through the ice, and of the sliding of strata on each other, his theory would not have been far removed from the general solution of the problem. Gravitation must clearly be the moving power, as it acts upon the snow and ice with the water,\* to make the glacier slowly descend the inclined plane. This would change his statement, already given, to the following: "It is this slow but continual sliding of the ice on its inclined base," and on its different inclined strata, "which carries it into the lower valleys," conforming

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\* Professors Agassiz, Forbes, and Tyndall, all admit the great infiltration or permeation of water in the ice of the glacier. For Agassiz compares the glacier to a huge sponge: Forbes says, "It is clearly proved by the experiments of Agassiz, and others, that the glacier is not a mass of (mere solid) ice, but of ice and water; the latter percolating freely through the crevices of the former to all depths of the glacier." And again: "The water in the crevices" . . . is "only the principal vehicle of the force which acts on it (glacier), and by fluid pressure produces the slow irresistible energy with which the icy mass moves onwards from hour to hour." Is it not this water, which, permeating by the imagined capillaries or certain pores of the ice, effects that apparent

by its plasticity to the forms of the valleys through which it passes.

3. The theory of some internal laboring power was adopted by Hugi, in his *Natural History of the Alps*. This is, no doubt, a true and sufficient cause; but what is it?

4. The "*Theory of the Glaciers of Savoy*," by Bishop Rendu, was published in 1841, and is held by Tyndall as a distinguished and highly meritorious work. Though he had not the accurate measures already given, he had, from extensive and careful observations, come to most valuable conclusions. Only two sentences need be given to show the philosophic tact and acumen of the Bishop. The differences of the motion observed by him, he ascribes to the fact that some "measures were made at the *centre* of the glacier, *which moves more rapidly*, while others were made at the *side*, where the ice is *retained by the friction against its rocky walls*?

In another place the Bishop says: "Between the Mer de Glace and a river, there is a resemblance so complete that it is impossible to find in the latter a circumstance which does not exist in the former."

With these quotations from Bishop Rendu, as given by Tyndall, it should be stated that Professor Forbes's censure of Rendu's greatly differing measures of the velocity of glaciers, according to the place in the glacier and other conditions, already given, lies equally against his own. The centre of the Aar glacier had been proved to move faster than the side as 14 to 1; and Tyndall quotes this ratio from Prof. Forbes's work, and Forbes' solution of it in these words: "Such is the

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plasticity or ductility by which the glacier changes its form, gravitation being the moving power upon the mass. Saussure says, that the frozen mass is "disengaged by the water from all adhesion to the bottom," and that it "must glide by little and little, and descend." *Glide* may be preferable to *slide*.

Whether the water is in "capillaries" in the ice or in "pores," is of little consequence, but Agassiz asserts that when the water is present, the *ice has a certain plasticity*; and Forbes attributes from the same influence some *sort of flexibility* to the glacier, not as solid ice, but *as ice and water, in a partial yielding state*. The approximation of the views of Agassiz and Forbes particulars, is obvious, and those of Saussure in this particular are removed.

effect of plasticity." In one case, indeed, Prof. Forbes made the "minimum less than one-twentieth of the maximum."

Still Bishop Rendu proposed no distinct solution, though he implies a *partial fluidity* in the glacier, as he compares its motion to the flow of a river, and also to that of molten (ductile) lava, and does not adopt such reasons, as had already been given. He assigned no property of the ice for the motion.

5. The theory of Prof. Agassiz is not very fully developed by Tyndall. It is evident that he chiefly abandoned the theory of *dilatation*, as already mentioned, and for the best of reasons, it is untenable wholly. He seems to rely on the plasticity of the ice as the property essential for the glacier to move down the inclined bed, but does not state what makes it plastic, though he implies it is the water diffused through it, as he states the glacier to be *not ice, but ice and water*. We are sorry to give so meagre an account of Professor Agassiz's rationale of glacier motion, as the world owes to him the first definite and practical measurements of glacier action and scientific observations for several years' continuance. His publications have shown to philosophers what was yet necessary to be measured in order to give a satisfactory elucidation of this huge system of glaciers. This Tyndall has accomplished, and as he gives a fair history of past observations and measurements and reasonings, while presenting his laborious and successful operations among the glaciers, his work conveys to the reader the most complete and satisfactory knowledge of the "Glaciers of the Alps" the world has ever seen. More than two years ago we expressed these views of the work of Tyndall in presenting this analysis of it to a scientific club, and to-day we find them fully sustained through the press by the decisions of amply qualified minds.

The *plasticity* of Agassiz leads to the next theory.

6. The theory of Prof. Forbes, quoted by Tyndall, originally was the following: "A glacier is an imperfect fluid, or viscous body, which is urged down slopes of a certain inclination by the *mutual pressure of its parts*." This "Viscous Theory," he illustrated by the motion of honey, treacle, tar, moist mor-



tar, molten lava, and the like viscous substances. Now the opinion of Faraday and such philosophical men is, that *the glacier ice is in no sense a semi-fluid, and has no property by which it can be called viscous*. Even Prof. Forbes himself came generally to use another term, "*plasticity*," just quoted from his later writings, as more correct.

The "mutual pressure of its (glacier's) parts," must be the force, or the result of *gravitation*. With the use of *plasticity* instead of *visciditv*, so that the glacier can be moulded into such changing forms, the theory of Prof. Forbes differs very little from that already mentioned.

That the body of the glacier cannot "be regarded as a *viscous substance*," Tyndall proves from the fracture and dislocation of the ice in passing a point of greater inclination. For this purpose he measured the "inclinations of the Mer de Glace and all its tributaries in 1857; the effect of a change of inclination being always noted." Of these he gives the three following: The inclination of the Glacier des Bois (which is the name of the lower part of the whole glacier, of which the Mer de Glace is so important and prominent a part), above the cascade, which puts the ice "in a state of wild dislocation," is found to the 5 deg. 10 min., and that of the cascade itself 22 deg. 20 min.; the change of inclination being therefore 17 deg. 10 min. There can be no doubt that the viscous bodies, with which Prof. Forbes compares the glacier, "would flow over the brow without breaking," and yet Prof. Forbes himself says of the glacier: "It pours into the valley beneath in a cascade of icy fragments." The ice of the glacier is, then, not *viscous*, but highly brittle. The des Bois is about 2,500 feet in width.

Another case is mentioned by Tyndall on the Mer de Glace, as even a stronger argument. "For example, its inclination above l'Angle, a little above the three Ponts, is 4 deg., and it afterwards descends a slope of 9 deg. 25 min., the change of inclination being 5 deg. 25 min." Even here the "transverse fracture" is so great and deep that "Prof. Forbes himself pronounces this portion of the Mer de Glace impassable." Still higher up, "the glacier is broken in passing from a slope

of 3 deg. 10 min. to one of 5 deg." The ice of the glacier is so brittle, as this test proves, that it cannot "be regarded as a *viscous* substance." It is not surprising that with these facts Prof. Forbes in his later writing often used *plastic* in the place of viscous, and *plasticity or flexibility* instead of viscosity. The flexibility of ice is known to all skaters or sliders upon it; it stretches, as if it were plastic like wood, and when there is no pressure to sustain and keep it in place, it breaks crosswise of the compressing force, as if brittleness, and not viscosity, were its great property.

Indeed, it is asserted by Prof. Forbes himself that ice is specially fragile. His friends are not able to sustain his simply *viscous* hypothesis, and can only support him in the *plasticity* ascribed to the glacier by Agassiz, whatever that may depend upon. To quote one more declaration of Prof. Forbes from Tyndall on the action of water, will satisfy us: "It is this fragility precisely which, yielding to the hydrostatic pressure of the unfrozen water contained in the glacier, produces the crushing action which shoves the ice over its neighbor particles." Yet Prof. Forbes declares: "I have nowhere affirmed the presence of liquid water to be a *sine qua non* to the plastic motion of glaciers." (Tyndall, p. 338.)

#### EXPERIMENTS ON ICE AND RESULTS.

Leading to some additional views on glacier action, Tyndall introduces admirable experiments on crushed ice. The ice was enclosed in a box-wood cavity which confined it, and under the hydrostatic press was changed from a globe to a convex lens; this was in the same way crushed and changed into a compact cake in less than half a minute; then solid ice was pressed into the form of a bowl or cup, which "held water without the slightest visible leakage." "A straight prism of ice became after pressure in a mould a "bent-bar of ice;" this was passed through three other moulds, and in the last came out a "semi-ring of compact ice." In every change a portion of water "was squeezed out of the crushed ice." In this last case, "suppose that instead of three moulds three

thousand had been used; or better still, suppose the curvature of a single mould to change by extremely slow degrees; the ice would then so gradually change its form that no rude rupture would be apparent. Practically the ice would behave as a *plastic* substance; and indeed this plasticity has been contended for by Agassiz." (Tyndall, pp. 346-9.)

These experiments are adduced to show that the glacier motions, expansions, contractions, adaptations to sinuosities and obstacles, and different resistances, may take place in a glacier from the great pressure to which it is exposed, and that when crushed in one place, it may soon, under pressure of the mass, become continuous. Tyndall adds in respect to the glacier: "The critical point here is, that the ice changes its form, and preserves its continuity, during its motion, in virtue of *external* force. It remains continuous whilst it moves" from the pressure of its own weight and momentum, if in motion.

In the above experiments the ice was confined on all sides by equal pressure; in the glacier the ice is actually confined only upon one side. This is a great difference, *even if we admit there* may be enough of pressure to aid in the preservation of the continuity of the ice as it moves, or to unite its fragments when the mass has been crushed.

Faraday first showed, in 1850, that "when two pieces of ice, with moistened surfaces, were placed in contact, they became cemented together by the freezing of the film of water between them," and that below 32 deg. and *dry*, or unmoistened, no such effect followed. The experiment succeeded even under water, and in vacuo. This is *regelation*,\* the re-union into a solid mass, or re-freezing of crushed ice in the preceding experiments into any form, water being evolved by the pressure. Snow or pounded ice could thus be *regelated* by pressure into solids of any form or given mould. In this way Tyndall was led to "conclude, that a *bruised mass of ice*, if closely confined, must re-cement itself when its particles are

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\* A word *too new* to have a place in Webster, or in Worcester of 1860; from the Latin, *gelu*, ice; *gelo*, to freeze; *regelo*, to freeze again; but made by the Latins to mean, *to thaw that frozen*, contrary to good usage.



brought into contact by pressure" (pp. 346-351). Must not the conclusion be, that water, liberated in this case by pressure, but abounding in the pores of the ice, gives to the glacier that plasticity, which is proved to exist, and is essential to the motion, as already quoted from Prof. Forbes. Water, present, or evolved, is necessary to regelation.

7. Tyndall closes his very interesting and valuable work by a summary of facts and conclusions on the constitution and action of glaciers, consisting of twenty-four heads. It can hardly be called a theory of glacier motion or action, and a satisfactory theory cannot probably be obtained from it. The most important points have been considered already, and need not be quoted again.\* The attentive reader will be satisfied that many of the elements of the motion of glaciers have been ascertained, even though he should inquire whether the motion is satisfactorily accounted for. It cannot be said that even Tyndall gives the desired satisfaction.†

For ourselves, we do not believe sufficient importance is given to the permeating or infiltrating water. This has been already indicated, and the views of Saussure, so far as he considered the agency of water in the phenomena, and especially of Forbes, when he maintains the hydraulic pressure of the water as one great means of diffusing the power of gravitation in the production of the motion, have been fully presented.

\* Tyndall states (p. 298): "That Mr. Hopkins proved experimentally that ice may descend an incline at a sensibly uniform rate, and that the velocity is augmented by increasing the weight. In this remarkable experiment the motion was due to the disintegration of the lower surface of the ice."

† Of the fourteenth principle in the summary, we have more than doubts. It is that *ice is compressible, but cannot be stretched*. Admitting the glacier is compressed and shortened in the case (p. 421), why should not the ice expand, on the compressing force being removed, and come to its former length? No proof is given that it does not; probably none can be. Besides, the reasoning of Hopkins, which Tyndall adopts (pp. 318-9), implies that the ice between two points is strained and stretched, till it can hold together no longer and a crevasse is formed, especially when the angle is half a right angle and the strain is the greatest. Assertion only, and not proof, is given. Certainly, when one walks on ice, which bends, not breaks, under him, the bent surface is longer than the straight, and the ice is *stretched* or lengthened in all directions.

The water is derived from three sources : from the melting of the ice or snow next the earth, from the natural heat of the earth; from the melting of the surface of the ice and snow from six to eight feet deep, semi-annually, by the heat of the sun and warm atmosphere; and from the fall of rain in thunder-showers and other rains. Consider its quantity. The upper source of a glacier, the *névé*, covers many square miles.\* The light flaky snow is soon changed by the water and cold into a granular crystalline form, and ultimately, as this descends, from pressure, into ice. The amount of water can best be approximated by the River Rhone, which issues from the Aar glacier, or by the Arveiron, which runs from the bottom of the Glacier des Bois. The last was measured at its source by Prof. Forbes in September, when the flow was much less than in the two preceding months. Forbes estimated the water to be three hundred (300) cubic feet a second. This would give in an hour 1,080,000 cubic feet, equal to 67,500,000 pounds of water for hydrostatic pressure. In July the amount is double at least, and in February not half as much probably. Still the Arveiron runs through the winter. A canal twelve feet long, five feet deep and five feet broad, would hold three hundred cubic feet, the discharge of Arveiron in one second; in one minute, sixty times as long; and in one hour sixty times longer, or more than eight miles.

The Arveiron was visited by Tyndall, Dec. 29th, 1858, after a very cold period. He says: "The quantity of water issuing from the vault was considerable. It was turbid with suspended matter, though not so turbid as in summer. This character of the water could only be due to the grinding motion of the glacier upon its bed — a motion not suspended even in the depth of winter. The temperature of the water was the tenth of a degree Centigrade above zero" (just below

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\* The area of the mountain basin to which the Mer De Glace belongs and from whose snows it is supplied, is estimated to be *thirty square miles*. A part of this is said to be naked rock, which must be covered with snow in winter, and the waters of which must pass downwards to increase the Arveiron. The glacier proper covers more than five square miles. The Arveiron issues about two miles above the village of Chamouni. (Johnson's Physical Atlas, p. 18.)

32 deg. Fah.); "that of the ice was half a degree below zero" (not a degree below 32 deg. Fah.); "this was also the temperature of the air." This occurred when the mean of the minimum temperature for fourteen days had been 15.3 deg. Fah.

Let us then suppose that next winter all the water shall be discharged, and the Arveiron cease to flow by the middle of February; that the glacier becomes a mass of solid ice, and the cold great enough and long enough to freeze the glacier to the earth; that this condition extends from the lower end of the glacier to the highest *névé* that now sustains and feeds it; will the glacier move at all along the inclined surface? All declare, "No." Suppose, next, that the natural heat of the earth just destroys the frost that binds the glacier to the earth, so that the glacier merely lies on its bed as gravitation requires. Not a particle of water has fallen upon it; not a mite of snow has melted on or under its surface; it lies in the valley of greater or less inclination, just as it was frozen fast; will the glacier now move onwards, or will it preserve its position? In what respect does it differ from an equal mass of rock lying just as loosely upon the earth, especially in the *cause* of any motion? The rock would not move, would be the universal opinion. To our mind it is clear, that the glacier would not move.

But what is the difference between the glacier now and when it was moving down the incline last June? Simply, that it is not permeated with water, and that water is not passing, as then, from the *névé* through the whole length of the glacier, from the surface to the bed. Every element of force is precisely the same as then, unless modified by the water. But if water is the modifier, then the *plasticity* depends upon it. Then we have learned how gravitation operates on the snow and ice, by means of the water of the glacier, in moving, and moulding, and fitting it to the sinuosities, and obstacles, and changes of inclination, which occur in its descent. Prof. Forbes says: "of the influence of temperature on the motion of the Mer de Glace," in the spring evidently, that the glacier "took no real start until the frost had given way, and the tumultuous course of the Arveiron showed



that its veins were again filled with the circulating medium to which the glacier, like the organic frame, owes its moving energy." (Tyndall, p. 338.) A quotation of similar character from Forbes has already been given. If Prof. Forbes is authority, the infiltrating water is essential to the motion of a glacier.

This "influence of temperature" mentioned by Prof. Forbes, has respect only to the melting of the ice to yield the water necessary for the motion; that is, when the Arveiron began to be "tumultuous" in its flow, the motion of the glacier was increased. The temperature of the glacier is proved by Agassiz and Tyndall to be the same in general for summer and winter, or near 32 deg. Fah., at which temperature both ice and water exist together. We shall of course notice the figurative language of Forbes, and shall not believe that a glacier has *veins* like an animal, or even capillaries, or that the circulation in a glacier has much analogy to that of high organic life. The glacier is not an organic body; it has no organized structure; it does not act according to any laws of life. Its operations are according to the physical laws of inert matter.

We have presented so full a view of Tyndall's "*Glaciers of the Alps*," because we are so far removed from such objects and phenomena, because much of error has been published on the subject, because of the intrinsic interest of the object, and because of the fulness of the details which enable us to have an adequate conception and enjoyment of the subject.

## ARTICLE VI.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

## THEOLOGY AND RELIGION.

*The Life of our Lord upon the Earth, considered in its Historical, Chronological and Geographical Relations.* By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS. New York. Charles Scribner. 1862. pp. 450.

The purpose of the author of this work is not to discuss the inspiration, the authorship, the date, or the relative characters of the Gospels, nor to institute critical inquiries into the state of the text. Assuming the historical credibility of the Evangelists, his object is to arrange the events which they record in chronological order, and state the grounds of this order. The work is appropriately introduced by three preliminary essays, discussing the dates respectively of the Lord's birth, baptism and death. In selecting the special difficulties in the Gospel narratives which claimed his attention, the author has restricted himself chiefly to those found in the commentaries of Alford and Meyer. Both of these are very able commentaries. The work of Alford clearly takes rank, philologically, above every other English commentary on the entire New Testament, while Meyer stands in the very first class of German expositors. These writers also occupy a somewhat "free position," and while repudiating most of the objections of the old negative and destructive criticism, they are yet not over fastidious themselves about imputing occasional mistakes to the Evangelists. In restricting himself mainly to the circle of their objections, the author has ensured the noticing of all really serious difficulties, while keeping his pages clear of replies to frivolous and exploded objections.

In the accomplishment of his work the author has been very successful. The list of writers whom he has consulted shows that he has shrunk from no range or labor of inquiry, and that while making no parade of erudition, he has resorted to and faithfully employed all the best sources of information. His style is clear, terse and simple; his discussions are conducted with thoroughness and candor; his conclu-

sions judicious, and the whole spirit of the book such as to make it highly serviceable to the student of the New Testament. Though, perhaps, somewhat wanting in definiteness of purpose, it is yet decidedly creditable to American scholarship, and written in hearty sympathy with the spirit of the Evangelists, and the character and teachings of our Lord. It will be found a valuable addition to the works of Ellicott and Westcott.

*The Pentateuch Vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso.*

By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. New York. John Wiley. 1863. pp. 195.

Prof. Green has done a good work in exploding, in a terse and vigorous manner, many of the unfounded assumptions and petty cavils of the English Missionary Bishop. He very rightly remarks, that for scholars no refutation of Colenso's book is needed. We might add, that for cultivated and thinking minds, though making no claims to scholarship, it is almost equally unnecessary. The Pentateuch stands in relation to the entire Bible as the system of nature stands in relation to the whole system of natural and revealed religion. It is its portico, or rather its foundation, and its necessary condition. Take away the one and you utterly subvert the other. The whole Jewish polity, the whole Jewish history, are rooted in, and rest upon the Pentateuch. Its truth is everywhere assumed, both in the Old and the New Testament. Undermine its authority and not a fragment of the Scripture edifice but crumbles into ruin. David, Isaiah and Jesus Christ, disappear under the touch of the same wand that has struck down the venerable form of Moses. And, we add, that on no part of the Sacred writings is the impress of Divinity more clearly stamped than on that section of them which bears his name. Yet, to the mass of readers the difficulties, which are insulated, minute and capable of easy exaggeration, are more palpable than the evidences of authenticity, which often depend upon comprehensive intellectual, or high moral surveys. To all these this work of Prof. Green will be of great service. It is written in the right spirit, and does not, like some defences, surrender the stronghold which it professes to defend. It is severely, yet calmly, just to the installed and sanctimonious infidelity of a priestly traitor to the faith, and passes in a very lucid and satisfactory manner over the principal points raised in the bishop's book. It is what it professes to be, a vindication of the Pentateuch from the aspersions of its reverend assailant.



*Letters of the REV. JOHN SMITH, a Presbyterian Minister, to his brother, the Rev. Peter Smith, a Methodist Preacher.* Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1862. pp. 188.

We had lost sight for some time of our world-renowned friend, Mr. John Smith. We knew that he was somewhere, engaged in some good work, for the family of Smiths is as respectable as it is numerous. There is something in a name. Mr. Wolff and Mr. Sharp have rather a suspicious ancestry: Mr. Smith traces back his lineage to some of the numerous *smitters* in iron, silver, brass, etc., whose labors make most of the industry and wealth of the world. He turns up here in the character of a Presbyterian minister, wielding his smiting instrument against the errors of Methodism. The work is in letters so short that his Methodist brother, the Rev. Peter Smith, and any body else, can easily read them; so pithy and pungent that they will be likely to read them; so Christian in temper that they can read them without pain; and with sentiments so just and true that it strikes us they cannot read them without profit. The volume is small, but is a valuable contribution to the popular literature on that great controversy between Calvinistic and Arminian doctrines which is the one vital question of difference in evangelical Churches.

*The Thoughts of God.* By the REV. J. R. MACDUFF, D. D., author of "Morning and Night Watches," "Words and Mind of Jesus," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863. pp. 144.

*A Morning Beside the Lake of Galilee.* By JAMES HAMILTON, D. D., F. L. S. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863. pp. 182.

*The Sunday Evening Book. Short Papers for Family Reading.* By JAMES HAMILTON, D. D., A. P. STANLEY, D. D., JOHN EADIE, D. D., REV. W. M. PUNSHON, REV. THOMAS BIRNEY, REV. J. R. MACDUFF. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863. pp. 186.

Each of these little books is beautiful in its way, and eminently calculated to promote that practical piety in the interests of which they all are written. The "Thoughts of God," by Rev. Dr. Macduff, touches briefly but feelingly many of those cardinal points at which the Christian experience links itself with the Divine counsels, purposes and promises, and unfolds beautifully some of the manifold manifestations of God in the inner life of the believer.

The work of Dr. Hamilton is founded on Christ's appearance to his disciples beside the lake of Galilee, after his resurrection, on that memorable morning when He drew forth from Peter his second confession, "Thou knowest that I love thee," and gave him in turn charge to feed his lambs. It is written in the characteristically attractive and earnest style of the author.

"The Sunday Evening Book," as its title indicates, is made up of short papers, the names of whose authors is a sufficient guaranty for their excellence. They are beautiful gems of sacred thought, furnished by men to whom the Church has become accustomed to look for elevated religious instruction.

*A Manual of Worship, suitable to be used in Legislative and other Public Bodies, in the Army and Navy, and in Military and Naval Academies, Asylums, Hospitals, &c.* Compiled from the forms and in accordance with the common usages of all Christian Denominations. Philadelphia: Geo. W. Childs. 1862. pp. 132.

This little book consists of forms of Divine service, prayer, thanksgiving, etc., for the various purposes indicated above; a collection of appropriate hymns and tables indicating suitable selections of Scripture, both of a more general character and for special occasions. The forms of prayer are, as far as possible, drawn from old and established formularies, and are intended to exclude everything strictly denominational. The work is judiciously compiled; it is recommended by a long list of eminent names in different Christian denominations, and may, we think, be profitably used wherever written forms are desirable.

*The Koran, Commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed.* Translated into English immediately from the original Arabic. By GEORGE SALE, Gent. To which is prefixed the Life of Mohammed, the history of his doctrine, &c. Boston: T. O. H. P. BURNHAM. 1862. pp. 472.

The Bible of the Mohammedans, the text book of the Religion of the great Arabian Imposter, will always have an interest with thinking men. They will be curious to inquire what elements of truth, or what forms of error, or what skilful and curious combination of both, have enabled it to maintain that spiritual domination over the mind of Islam which was originally achieved by the more material agency of the sword. This convenient republication of Sale's, not perfect indeed, but still stand-

ard translation, will enable all who choose easily to gratify that curiosity. It renders the utterances of the great Prophet of Mecca increasingly accessible to the people of our Continent, while the sketch of the life and character of Mohammed, comprised within the first fifty pages, adds very materially to the value of the work.

#### PHILOSOPHY.

*Lectures on Moral Science*—Delivered before the Lowell Institute, Boston. By MARK HOPKINS, D.D., LL.D., President of William's College, Boston. 1862.

The well known reputation of Dr. Hopkins as an original and able thinker, renders unnecessary any special commendation of this excellent work. We refrain from it the more willingly, because we hope to make it the basis, before long, of an extended article, analyzing it more minutely, and passing in review some of the leading aspects of the ethical science of our time. The spirit of change and progress which has pervaded so widely the intellectual and social features of the age, has not left the department of ethical inquiry untouched. New efforts have been made to reach the fundamental principles of moral obligation, and to rear on a firmer basis the structure of moral science.

Dr. Hopkins has worked out, for the first time, we believe, an elaborate and complete philosophy of ends. To this fundamental principle he has subordinated his entire discussion. His work, therefore, is a new and original contribution, by a very able thinker, to the existing doctrines and methods of ethical science. His system assumes the character of a modified eudemonism. It goes back to the starting point of Aristotle, and finds its point of departure in the inquiry after the chief end, and consequently the sovereign good of man. That end he finds not in virtue or holiness; for this, if it did not issue in enjoyment, we could not recognize as good; nor in happiness, for without holiness the happiness could not be; but in a *holy happiness* or blessedness, which involves the highest exercise of our highest powers. It is this general view which determines the starting point and the general method of the discussion. Starting with the consideration of *ends* and of good as that which constitutes an end, the author proceeds by an analysis of man's sensitive, emotional, and rational nature, to determine the true good and the true end of man, and thus to determine the nature and the sphere of moral accountability and moral virtue. His system repudiates entirely the low utilitarian and materializing systems of



Paley and Bentham, by its distinct and emphatic recognition of the moral nature as an ultimate fact in man's constitution, and of the supremacy of that law of right and duty which conscience unqualifiedly affirms. That, however, Dr. Hopkins has quite succeeded in making the two elements of his system,—that which bases obligation on the recognition of an end, and that which affirms right immediately and unconditionally as an element of the moral reason—perfectly harmonize with and fit into each other, we are not sure. We think that we can detect at some stages of the discussion, a lurking sense of incongruity, or at least a vacillation and vagueness of expression as if the author had failed to get the entire mastery over his subject, and to mould into complete symmetry its different elements. Elaborate and able as is his analysis, we doubt if the balance between the *ought* and the *expedient*, between the obligation to do a certain act because it is an end, and the obligation to do it because it is *right*, is always held with a quite firm and unwavering hand.

Granting, also, the entire correctness of the author's doctrine of ends, we are not quite sure that it does not unnecessarily complicate the science of strict ethics. He defines moral philosophy to be the science "which teaches man the end for which he was made, why he should attain that end, and how he should attain it." Undoubtedly it is competent for him to adopt this method, and give this extension to the science. And if he has succeeded in settling the true end of man, and the reasons for reaching it, he has rendered a legitimate service both to science and humanity. For ourselves we should prefer a simpler definition, and one which gave a less wide scope for speculation. We should prefer to treat ethics as the science of the facts of our moral consciousness; first exploring and determining the nature of our moral powers, and then passing in review the various classes of objects and relations to which the affirmations of that nature directly apply. We would thus build up a moral system of facts—a system resting directly upon the immediate and universal responses of our moral nature, and in a great measure independent of any theories as to our ultimate end. For the affirmations of conscience as to right and wrong are, to a large extent, totally independent of any such theories, and grow out of its immediate perception of moral qualities and relations.

The chapter on the law of limitation is a splendid specimen of philosophical generalization. But in it the author does more than justice to the doctrine of Aristotle. Aristotle is talking simply about virtue, which he defines to be a mean between opposite extremes; as for example,

courage is a mean between audacity and cowardice, and frugality a mean between extravagance and stinginess. With him this principle rests on no scientific basis, and is subjected to no scientific criterion whatever. It is a rough sort of practical rule, utterly destitute of any scientific value, and scarcely worthy, therefore, to be brought into comparison with our author's beautifully developed system of limitations. We will add, that Aristotle's system of the mean is applied strictly to the moral virtues; our author's law of limitation applies strictly, only to the realm below the sphere of moral virtue; for the moment he reaches that he comes into that realm of moral duty to which, as ultimate and and supreme, the law of limitation does not apply. Strictly speaking, Aristotle's doctrine of limitations begins where that of our author ends; although, of course, not entirely so, inasmuch as in the looser phraseology of Aristotle many qualities rank themselves as moral virtues to which our severer and purer science refuses so lofty a name.

*Text Book in Intellectual Philosophy, for Schools and Colleges:* containing an outline of the Science, with an abstract of its History. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, D. D., President of Waterville College. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1860. pp. 240.

As this work has been some time before the public, we need not characterize it at length. It contains a clear and condensed discussion of the leading topics of Mental Science, under the successive heads of Mind in General, Consciousness, Perception, Memory, Imagination, Conception, Judgment, and Reasoning, with an Appendix containing a brief outline of the History of Speculative Philosophy, derived from the best secondary sources. Pres't Champlin is a correct and judicious thinker, and his long experience as a teacher has enabled him to consult the peculiar needs of College instruction. To those who do not care to grapple with the sterner Metaphysics of Hamilton, we can recommend this work, as presenting a substantially just and well-digested survey of metaphysical science in its latest phases. The author acknowledges his large indebtedness to the gigantic ability and erudition of Hamilton.

*First Principles of Ethics.* Designed as a basis for Instruction in Ethical Science in Schools and Colleges. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, President of Waterville College. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. 1861. pp. 204.

In this very handsomely printed book the author has endeavored to present, in clear and condensed outline, the First Principles of Ethics.

He considers, first, Action as the end of Ethical Science, and the conditions of Action; then he discusses the nature and conditions of right acts, the obligation to do right and the nature of virtue. He closes his work with an abstract of opinions on the grounds of right and wrong. The doctrine on which he plants himself is, that right is conformity in conduct to the nature and reason of things. His book presents a wide contrast alike in style and mode of treatment, to that of his brother President, whose work is also noticed in our present issue. Each has its own excellencies. The work of Dr. Hopkins is more elaborate in structure, more ornate in style, more studiously framed into a complete and symmetrical system, and gives evidence of deeper and subtler thinking: that of Dr. Champlin is more direct and simple in style, and more expressly adapted to the needs of the recitation room, while perhaps his fundamental doctrine will find as general acceptance as the 'philosophy of ends' of his Presidential brother. Between disagreeing Presidents we will not at present decide. It is but just, however, to say that the work of Dr. Hopkins is an elaborately wrought out, original contribution to the doctrines of Ethical science: that of Dr. Champlin aims only at being a clear and systematic resumé of some of its fundamental principles.

*Æsthetics; or, The Science of Beauty.* By JOHN BASCOM, Professor in Williams' College. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1862. pp. 256.

This is an interesting series of lectures on a very important, but, it is to be feared, neglected, and very imperfectly appreciated subject. The author's purpose is "to supply the want of an exclusive and compact treatise on the principles of taste." He discusses the elementary idea or principle of beauty, its development in expression, its various manifestations in art and nature, and some of the numerous questions to which the subject of beauty and taste has given rise. The work is an important addition to our means both of school and of private culture. We trust that it will contribute its part toward counteracting the materialistic tendencies of our age, and cultivating that faculty of taste which stands alongside of reason and the moral sense, as one of the grand departments of our nature.



## SCIENCE AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Burmah, its People and Natural Productions; or Notes on the Natives, Fauna, Flora and Minerals of Tenasserim, Pegu and Burmah, with Systematic Catalogues of the known Mammals, Birds, Fish, Reptiles, Insects, Mollusks, Crustaceans, Annelids, Radiates, Plants and Minerals, with Vernacular Names.* By REV. F. MASON, D. D., M. R. A. S., Corresponding Member of the American Oriental Society, etc. Rangoon: T. S. Ranney. 1860. London: Trübner & Co.; New York: Phinney, Blakeman & Mason. pp. 913.

This work will naturally have but a limited circulation, but within its limited range of readers it will be deemed of great value. It is one of the numberless proofs which the last half century has furnished of the great dependence of science, in many of its most important branches, upon the spirit of Christianity, and the labors of Christian missionaries. Christianity has taken science under her fostering care, and while infidel savants have been sneering at her claims, and seeking to undermine her doctrines, she, with Godlike benevolence, has been ministering primarily to the great moral interests of humanity, and then regarding with benignant eye, and promoting with kindly hand, every separate interest of culture and of knowledge. Missionaries, penetrating every corner of the globe on their high errand of benevolence, have laid open the languages, the customs and the productions of every section of the earth to the scrutinizing gaze of science. Rev. F. Mason has long been well known, not only as an active and successful missionary, but also as a careful and scholarly observer and student of the various objects and problems which, within the sphere of his labors, would demand the attention of an educated man. The results of the researches of years are embodied in this goodly volume. After a slight geographical and topographical sketch, he then devotes nearly a hundred and fifty pages to ethnological and linguistic inquiries regarding the various tribes within the limits of Burmah. This part of his work will, of course, be of special interest to the student of general linguistics and ethnology. The remainder of the work comprises a full exhibition of the zoölogical, vegetable and mineral productions and treasures of the vast and interesting regions of which the author treats. With every lover of true science the book will find a hearty welcome.

*The National Almanac and Annual Record for the Year 1863.*

Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1863. pp. 700.

Seven hundred broad, double columned, closely and yet clearly printed pages are taken up in a work which is worthy to be called a National Almanac, and which ought to be deemed indispensable to the library of every intelligent citizen of the United States. The variety, amount and fulness of information contained in this work are almost incredible. The Government Statistics are given with great accuracy and completeness; an "abstract of the Laws" passed during three most important sessions of Congress, is a marvellous specimen of condensation. The Tariff and Excise taxes, and the Statistics of the Census of 1860 complete the more strictly national part, after which follow full details, political, financial, educational, regarding the separate States, brought up to the present time. Then follows a complete record of the events of the war from its commencement, with a necrology giving biographical sketches of those who have died within the year, and noticing especially those who have fallen in battle in defence of the Union. A list of American Colleges and Theological Seminaries, Law and Medical Schools, the Religious Statistics of the World, and a Survey of the Governments, Finances, etc., of the Nations of Europe, are added. We repeat, nothing seems wanting to make this a perfect work of its kind. The enterprise that has projected and carried out so successfully this herculean labor, cannot fail of its reward.

*Principia Latina. Part I. A first Latin Course, comprehending Grammar, Delectus, and Exercise-Book, with Vocabularies.* By WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D., Author of a "*History of Greece*." Revised by H. DRISLER, A. M. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863. pp. 183.

An admirable work for those who are commencing Latin. We do not remember to have seen an elementary book more completely adapted to its purpose. If continued in a series on a like plan, it cannot fail of success.

*My Diary North and South.* By WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863. pp. 224.

The characteristics of Mr. Russell as an observer and writer, are universally known in this country. Doubtless he is not a profound philosopher; but he is a shrewd observer of what passes on the surface, and

an exceedingly graphic narrator. His command of all the language necessary to the most minute description of any object or scene is marvellous. Cold-blooded as he seems, and rigidly neutral in his sympathies as he seemed, and as we felt, perhaps justly, provoked that he should seem while with us, his convictions and sympathies were evidently really with the Northern States. None can read his "diary" without interest, and few without instruction.

*The Siege of Richmond; A Narrative of the Military Operations of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan during the months of May and June, 1862.* By JOEL COOK, Special Correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press*, with the Army of the Potomac. Philadelphia: Geo. W. Childs. 1862. pp. 358.

An interesting and graphic account of one of the most important episodes of this bloody war. It will be read with intense interest, though not with half the pleasure by loyal readers, as if its eventful scenes had had a different termination, and the "Siege of Richmond" had resulted in its capture.

*Prison Life in the Tobacco Warehouse at Richmond.* By a Ball's Bluff Prisoner, Lieut. WM. C. HARRIS, of Col. BAKER'S California Regiment. Philadelphia: George C. Childs. 1862. pp. 175.

Three years ago the "Tobacco Warehouse" at Richmond had no notion, we presume, that it would ever figure so largely in the literature of the United States. Strange and untoward events have lifted it into a sudden notoriety, and made it a thing to be gazed at in after time with various but not feeble emotions. This is the third or fourth work which we have seen chronicling the experiences of our gallant but unfortunate heroes in their prison-life in Richmond. The interest has yet by no means subsided. Each separate tale will be conned by a thousand tearful eyes, and sympathizing hearts, and this narrative of Lieut. Harris, pleasant, graphic, cheerful, and, we presume truthful, will contribute its own lights and shades to the picture of prison-life in the Richmond Tobacco Warehouse, and have its own full circle of interested readers.



*How a Free People conduct a long War; A Chapter from English History.* By CHARLES J. STILLÉ. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien. 1863.

*Northern Interests and Southern Independence; a Plea for United Action.* By CHARLES J. STILLÉ. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien. 1863.

These are two pamphlets, the first of forty, and the second of fifty pages. They have had a wide circulation, and have been read by many thousands of our people. They ought to be read by many thousands more. They should be read by all who are, and still more by all who are not, fully satisfied of the necessity of using our utmost endeavors to crush out the Great Rebellion which would rear an independent and antagonist sovereignty along our borders—doubly weakening our country, first by dividing it, and then by arming it against itself. The utter impossibility of allowing, consistently with every national interest, the successful accomplishment of this great plot, is shown in a clear and masterly manner in the second of Mr. Stillé's pamphlets. He demonstrates that it is not a matter of national pride—the mere empty or the mere patriotic glory of having an undivided Union, that is staked upon the success of the Union arms. It is the solid and vital interests of our nation—the assured continuance of peace, and independence, and prosperity, that are involved in the struggle, and which demand that the contest be carried out, not to the bitter, but to the triumphant and happy end.

*African Hunting from Natal to the Zrambesi, including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert, &c., from 1852 to 1860.* By WILLIAM CHARLES BALDWIN, Esq., F. R. G. S. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863. pp. 397.

A pleasant and graphic sketch of sporting along the eastern coast, and extending somewhat into the interior of Africa. The book sheds a good deal of incidental light on the character of the region which its sport-loving author selects as the theatre of his adventurous exploits. The illustrations are exceedingly spirited.

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

## GERMANY.

*The Lutheran System of Doctrines.* By Dr. Kahnis, Professor of Theology in the Leipsic University (*Die lutherische Dogmatik historisch genetisch dargestellt*, 1ster Bd. 1861), awakened a lively interest in Germany on its first appearance, some commending its freedom and vigor of thought, and others denouncing its heterodoxy. This interest has not yet subsided, and we therefore at this late day call attention to the work. When completed according to the plan of the author, it will be in two volumes, and embrace (1) A History of the Lutheran System of Doctrines; (2) The Evidences of Christianity, or Religion and Revelation; (3) The Word of God in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; (4) The Doctrinal System of the Ancient Church down to the Reformation; (5) The System of Doctrines held by the Lutheran Church. Only one volume has been given to the public, comprising it may be half the whole work. It takes up the first three topics mentioned above. The genetic history of the Lutheran system of doctrines, with which the work opens, is admirably executed. The language is forcible and exact, sometimes beautiful and eloquent. The second part, treating of religion and revelation, investigates the doctrines of natural theology, and attempts to show that Christianity is the truth of all religion. It exhibits with much freshness the principles of natural religion and the grounds in reason, conscience and analogy for our confidence in the Christian system.

But the third part, which discusses the authorship, credibility, and inspiration of the canonical scriptures, is sceptical both in spirit and in results. Dr. Kahnis here maintains that only those portions of the Bible which were written by prophets or apostles are in the highest sense inspired and of binding authority. He maintains that three distinct grades of inspiration may be distinguished in the Old Testament,

namely, that of the law and of the prophetic books, that of the historical parts, and that of the hagiographa, which represent more or less the subjective side of Jewish religion. He also insists on the distinction of proto-canonical and deutero-canonical writings in the New Testament. These positions cannot in Germany be regarded as very unsound, but the *animus* with which they are set forth and defended is more objectionable; the inclination everywhere manifest to overlook the arguments in favor of the so-called orthodox view, and to bring forward and use the small arms of scepticism, is an obvious fault in the discussion. Of course the first chapters of Genesis are pronounced mythical, and the Pentateuch as a whole a literary mosaic. Esther and Ecclesiastes are rejected as uncanonical, and the Song of Solomon is described as a miscellany of amatory verses, no better than the poetry of Ovid or Sir Thomas Moore. The epistles of James and Jude were written, it seems, without inspiration, and disagree in doctrine with other writings of the New Testament. The moral character of the Apocalypse is assailed on the ground of false pretences, since it professes to be a work of John, which it is not, as the style proves; and on the ground of false prophecy, since it makes the Saviour say: "Behold, I come *quickly*," while 1800 years have already passed with no sign of his appearing!

Besides, Dr. Kahnis finds it necessary to reject the usual doctrine of the Trinity as unscriptural, falling back upon the Arian view as substantially correct, and affirming that Christ is a "personality *originated* in a mysterious way from God before the world was," but not in his higher nature eternal. The Father alone is truly God. Moreover, it is a matter of special grief to strict Lutherans that he does not discover the doctrine of the "real presence" in any passage of the New Testament..

Such opinions as these, in a work professing by its title to give "The Lutheran System of Doctrines," has naturally called forth many criticisms, some of them harsh and contemptuous, others just and respectful. To the latter class belongs an article by Prof. Delitzsch, of Erlangen, entitled: "*For and Against Kahnis*." A single sentence will show his view of the task which Kahnis undertook to perform. "It belongs indeed to the nature of the Lutheran, or rather the Evangelical, standpoint, to subject the doctrines of the church always afresh to the decisive authority of Scripture, and to draw from that original, inexhaustible source, whenever this is possible, a richer form for these doctrines; but a Dogmatik which finds even a *single doctrine* of the church contradictory to biblical expressions, rightly understood, and



which therefore produces it in a form substantially changed, cannot appropriate the name of a Lutheran Dogmatik." In reply to the attack upon Genesis i. ii., H. G. Holemann published, in 1862, a small treatise on "The Unity of the two Accounts of the Creation, Genesis i. ii., with a Letter to Dr. Kahnis." This treatise maintains that both these chapters were written by Moses, the second being complementary to the first. It contains many ingenious remarks, and repels effectually the charge of contradiction or useless repetition, but it hardly *proves* that Moses made use of no ancient record in the first chapter. Indeed we cannot see what is lost to the authority of the narrative by admitting that the lawgiver of Israel may have borrowed the language of this chapter, as well as the words of Lamech, from some existing document which he was led by the Spirit of God to employ.

The first volume of an extensive work by Professor von HOFMANN, of Erlangen, entitled: "*The Holy Scripture of the New Testament connectedly investigated*" (*Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht*, Theil I. 1862), made its appearance during the last year. The learned author proposes to investigate all the books of the New Testament in the order of their composition, for the purpose of establishing, on critical and philosophical grounds, by the historical method, their divine authority and the true nature of inspiration. Such a work will embrace an interpretation of these writings, an introduction to the study of them, and a thorough discussion of their inspiration. The author is a distinguished theologian, taking rank with the ablest men in the Lutheran church, original, independent. If he completes the work now begun, it will contain a vast amount of suggestive and instructive thought. The present volume of 372 pages is devoted to a general introduction, and the epistles to the Thessalonians. Another volume is expected to appear at once. Professor Hofman objects very decidedly to what he calls the old, mechanical theory of inspiration, as defended by PHILIPPI in his work, not yet completed, on the *Doctrinal Creed of the Lutheran Church* (*Kirchliche Glaubenslehre*). Whether he will be able to present any better theory may be seriously doubted. For while Philippi objects to the doctrine of verbal inspiration, or rather *dictation*, he maintains that the Scriptures are substantially the word of God, written by men who were moved and assisted by his Spirit to record his will, and endorsed by him as true.

"*Special Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*,"

is the title of a new work from the pen of Dr. Stähelin, Professor at Basle. It was published during the last year, 1862, and is in many respects a valuable addition to Biblical Literature. It does not, however, assert the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch, but maintains very forcibly the divine origin of the law. It supposes one original source, and additions by the final redactor in the time of Samuel. The historical truth of the Chronicles is defended, and the fundamental ideas of the Song of Solomon and the Ecclesiastes are developed, showing the right of these books to a place in the sacred canon. The author is an accomplished Arabic as well as Hebrew scholar, and has illustrated many points of difficulty from the literature of the sister dialect. The work is instructive and suggestive, fresh and earnest.

"*The Idea of the Absolute Personality, or God and His Relation to the World, especially to the Human Personality,*" 2 vols., 1862, by Dr. J. W. Hanne, is, so far as published, historical and critical. The author reviews the Judaistic, Pagan and Modern Pantheistic or Deistic conceptions of God, and points out their gravest defects. In a subsequent volume he proposes to vindicate the Christian idea of God. The work is written with vigor, and is worthy of careful study.

"*King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. and the Constitution of the Evangelical Church,*" by Dr. L. Richter, 1861, is a small volume, exhibiting by means of extracts from his manuscripts the views of the late King of Prussia respecting the constitution of the Lutheran church. From the pages of this book it appears that the King's relation to the church was a burden to his conscience. He was opposed to episcopacy in any except the primitive form. He does not refer to "episcopal right" without showing his dislike of it. He would have no presbyterial, episcopal, or consistorial government of the churches. Indeed, he wishes not circles, but churches, single churches, formed after the apostolic pattern, "in every one of which the life, the order, the officers of the universal church of Christ on earth may be seen in miniature." A total separation of church and state and a recurrence to the apostolic model of government are advocated by him. The work has found few friends among the higher clergy of the Lutheran church, and the present King does not share the scruples of his predecessor. The supposition that apostolic wisdom in regard to church polity and order would be wisdom in the nineteenth century and in Germany is not entertained; nay, it is distinctly and expressly rejected as unworthy of thorough examination. See a notice of this work in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1862, 1te Heft.